No. 41 • OCTOBER 20, 1986 A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS ISSN 0206—1473

NEW TIMES

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INTERVIEW WITH JANOS KADAR

Valentin Dikul's Feat

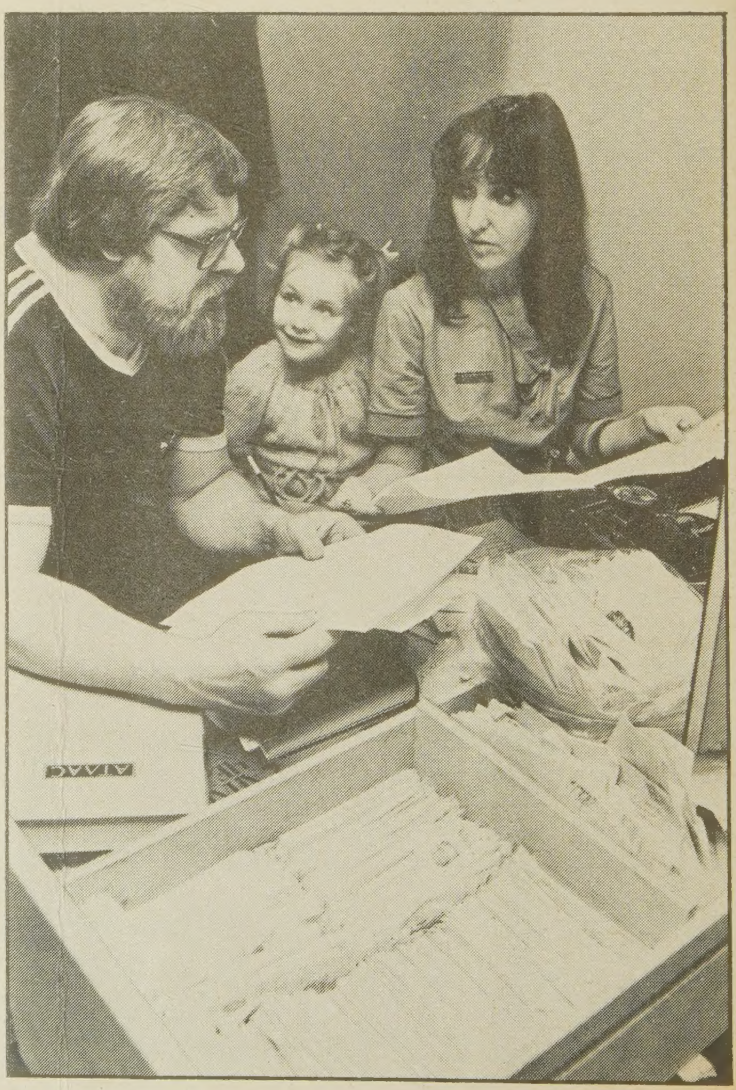
A workout.

Valentin Dikul, a Moscow circus performer, became nationally famous after a documentary about him was released in 1985. The film, awarded a Gold Medal at the International Film Festival in Moscow, was purchased by more than 20 foreign distributors within days of its premiere.

Valentin Dikul with a French TV crew making a film about him.

TASS photos

The famous doctor-athlete's mail runs at times to 150 letters a day.



. . . On September 18, 1962, Valentin Dikul, then a lad of 16, fell from a trapeze and broke his back. "A wheelchair for life," was the doctor's verdict. "If you are ever able to walk at all, you will need crutches or, at best, a stick to lean on."

Doctors saved Valentin Dikul's life, but he could no longer move. Nevertheless, he was determined to return to active life. Lying flat on his back he started exercising with dumbbells, a barbell and weights. And eventually sheer will power and patience won the day. Today he is again astounding circus audiences with such feats as holding a Volga car weighing 1,570 kilogrammes, on his shoulders and juggling with 80-kilogramme weights.

Dikul has emerged victorious from his ordeal, but many others, confined to bed by illness or injury, have lost all hope of recovery. So Dikul resolved to do all he could to help them too. Out of his own agonizing struggle to pull through came the "Dikul system"—a programme of exercises which he "tailors" to the individual requirements of everyone seeking his help. After studying the patient's case history, he recommends 58 test exercises in order to diagnose the trouble. This is followed by a course of treatment—treatment by physical exercises that has saved from lifelong immobility many who seemed doomed to it from birth. The Dikul system has attracted the attention of medical experts.

Thousands applaud this strongman who, having triumphed over a terrible illness, now triumphs over the force of gravity on the Moscow circus arena.

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

IT DEPENDS ON YOU!

Whether there is to be peace on Earth depends on Man, the pinnacle of evolution, the most perfect creation of Nature, her most gifted offspring. On him depends whether human civilization is to endure or to perish in a nuclear holocaust.

At the dawn of the nuclear age Einstein warned that mankind cannot solve the problems it has created at the level of thinking that produced them. The maturing of the human intellect proceeds more slowly and laboriously than the disclosure of the secrets of the atom. But even then, in the late forties, mankind's finest minds found the key to the future. Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Alexander Fadeyev and Ilya Ehrenburg, Pablo Picasso and Pablo Neruda initiated that great movement of our time--the peace movement.

Today everyone wants peace, but not everyone yet realizes that peace cannot be assured by armed force or by imposing one's own way of life on others. Not all are able to rise above prejudice and bigotry, to extend a hand of amity to neighbours. Not all realize that peace must be fought for.

Soviet people do realize this. The old woman from a Georgian mountain village who every month donates half of her pension to the Peace Fund; the young Sverdlovsk workers who work anti-war shifts as their contribution to the fight for peace; the children who send the Soviet Peace Committee their simple but meaningful drawings. They are all at one with their government, which has offered the world a programme to rid the planet of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the next century and for more than a year now has observed its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests.

The people of the other socialist countries also realize this. As do more and more people in the West. The little American girl who writes a letter to the leader of that distant, mysterious country, the U.S.S.R. The schoolchildren who float paper lanterns down the Mississippi in memory of the Japanese victims of the American atom bomb. The English schoolteacher who signs a protest against "star wars." The West-German lawyer who joins a demonstration for the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear missiles from the F.R.G. This realization is now bringing together the many anti-war movements at a congress in Copenhagen.

"Who if not you?" is the message of a peace poster. Our planet is stricken by the nuclear ague. It is shaken by the explosions in Nevada. It shudders at the thought of the space weapons of the future. Its health, its very life is in your hands. Who will come to its aid if not you, men and women everywhere?

FROM OUR MAILBAG

If the disarmament problem is solved on the European continent, at least, this will certainly go to improve the situation in the rest of the world. In my opinion, the following can give an extra impetus to détente: the money released from arms manufacturing ought to be sent to the developing countries as aid in combating famine and poverty. The money could be distributed through the U.N. or any other international organization.

N. ROMANOV
Penza, U.S.S.R.

I learned from the article "The Budapest Programme" (No. 25, 1986) about your proposal for a troop reduction in Europe. Each side is to reduce its armed forces by 100,000-150,000 men. It seems to me that the capitalist countries will never consent to that. Whereas the socialist countries will offer the men guaranteed jobs and won't suffer from the termination of arms manufacturing at all, what's to become of those living in the capitalist world! What do you say to that!

Manuel de la RESURRECCION
Valencia, Spain

As it happens I am fortunate enough to live in the southern—the most prosperous—part of our small island. Yet even here unemployment among all age groups continues to rise each year. The farther one travels north, it is like entering another world. The crumbling boarded-up old buildings, boarded-up shop fronts, empty houses. The people have left because the pit has been closed down and the factory has locked its gates. There is no work to make a living, and no hope of finding work—that is the situation Britain is in today.

Dennis MILNER
Newbury, Britain

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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AFTER THE WINTER OF DICTATORSHIP

Argentina is overcoming the aftermath of military regimes.

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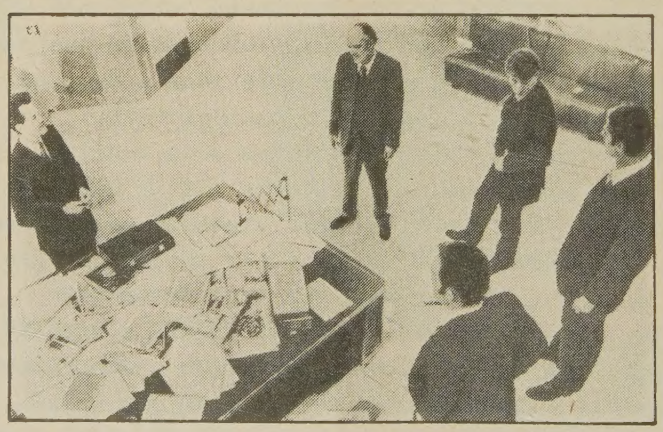

BEWARE OF PIRATES!

These pirates operate on the Stock Exchange. Big companies are their victims.

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Who they are, who arms and funds them.

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BOLDNESS, STAUNCHNESS, ACTION

JANOS KADAR, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, interviewed by the Editor-in-Chief of New Times Vitaly Ignatenko

Comrade Janos Kadar gave me an appointment for 11:30.

His office, overlooking the embankment and the serene river, is filled with books. There is a large original portrait of Lenin considering a chess move. Photographs on the walls show historical episodes in the life of the party and its international links. A smaller portrait of Lenin hangs above the General Secretary's desk.

Janos Kadar comes into the office. He smiles and shakes hands. His handshake is strong.

"Well, let's get down to business," he motions me to the table. "I'm ready for your questions."

Comrade Kadar, you ended your concluding speech at the 13th Congress of the HSWP by quoting the words Janos Arany, the classic Hungarian poet, used to describe one of his main characters: "The greater the danger the braver he is." If you look at the history of the struggle for socialism in Hungary, to what extent does it reveal this trait in the Hungarian people?

Our great poet formulated the historical experience and aspirations of the people on the eve of the Hungarian bourgeois-democratic revolution and the liberation struggle.

In my concluding address to the congress I quoted his words to remind people of a historical fact: when the situation required it our people and our working class worked and struggled with redoubled energy and boldly took up the cause of national independence and social progress. I wanted to stress that to cope with our domestic and foreign problems what is needed above all is boldness, staunchness and action.

The promulgation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 was a widely known historical instance of bold action for socialist ideals. This happened at a time when the forces of young Soviet Russia, then being torn by Whiteguards and the troops of the invaders, were far from our country. From the moment the Hungarian Soviet Republic was formed it had to wage a difficult struggle for survival, the preservation of Hungarian sovereignty and the future of the nation. For several months our people successfully withstood political and diplomatic threats, economic pressure and armed intervention, and it was only military force enlisted by the former ruling classes, mobilized and equipped by the Entente powers, that succeeded in defeating the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Even under the counterrevolutionary regime the finest sons and daughters of our people continued the struggle because they knew that the first Soviet Republic in Hungary, which fell, "will be followed by a second, which will be victorious." This was how Lenin characterized the period. Being aware of this, Hungarian patriots and internationalists at home and in many European countries fought against fascism and war, for an independent, democratic and free Hungary. The country, plunged into the second world war and exposed to mortal danger through the fault of the ruling classes, was liberated as a result of the heroic and selfless struggle of the Soviet Army.

After the nazi occupiers had been driven out of Hungary, our people were able to take their destiny into their own hands. At that period, too, Communists and other patriotic and progressive forces had to tackle formidable problems, for they had inherited a devastated country. Their efforts bore fruit: they managed to establish and strengthen the popular government and mobilize the people to restore the country and build a new social system. As a result of dedicated work we made great advances in the struggle for democratic and socialist goals over a short period.

After several years of progressive development, serious mis-

Budapest today.

takes on the part of the leading group headed by Rakosi and the growing distortions of policy brought the country to crisis in 1953. In 1956 betrayal by the revisionist group headed by Imre Nagy and the actions of internal and external counterrevolutionaries gravely threatened the people's government. Hungarian Communists, Hungarian advocates of socialism, backed by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the international communist movement and progressive people everywhere, upheld our constitutional system, restored legality, and created conditions for the further building of socialism.

Thirty years ago Western propaganda claimed that socialism in Hungary was dead. Now more and more often it asks why the republic survived and why it continues to march forward. Of course, they find it hard to admit that Hungary's example is proof of the viability of socialism. They attempt to offer their own explanation: Hungary is doing well because, they say, it is using capitalist methods.

Yes, I am aware of that. But let us go back to those years. When the danger was behind us and the popular government was no longer threatened, the tasks of building socialism again came to the fore. Perseverance and hard work were still needed to solve them. After the consolidation of political power and the social system, the next major challenge in the early 1960s was to finish building the foundations of socialist society and to reorganize agriculture along socialist lines. There were snags along the way as well. We were aware that unless we came to grips with the problem, the fundamental political basis of our state—the alliance between workers and peasants—could not be strong and Hungarian agriculture would not be able to meet the country's food needs. If we had mishandled this problem we would have caused grave damage to the unity of the working classes and the country's economic position would have deteriorated.

With active help from all strata of society, the party and the working class—in the period of the establishment of agricultural cooperatives—managed to strengthen the foundation of our popular state, i.e., the alliance between workers and peasants, and boost agricultural output. The socialist reorganization of agriculture is a historic achievement of our system. It marks not only a major political step forward but helps considerably raise the living standards of the working class, the peasantry, all the working people, and makes it possible to meet the people's needs. We also have large quantities of goods for export.

In the mid-1960s new major tasks arose before us in the process of socialist development. The sources of extensive growth of the economy having been exhausted, it was necessary to make our system of economic management more flexible and carry out a comprehensive reform. The essence of the management system, in operation for 18 years now, is as follows: a socialist planned economy taking into account the laws of the market, the use of economic as opposed to administrative methods of management, and a certain degree of autonomy and incentive for cooperatives and state-owned enterprises. The experience of recent years has shown that the economic reform introduced in 1968 took into account the general laws of the building of socialism and the specific features of our country and its economic structure, and helped to develop the national economy and consolidate socialist elements in our society.

Among other complex problems we have tackled over the past forty years are: ensuring the unity of the nation for achieving our main objective of building a socialist society, extending socialist democracy, bringing about a dramatic improvement in the living conditions of the people, and big advances in the level of education and quality of life.

Determination, restraint and firm adherence to principle were needed to stand our ground in the international arena. Hungary, as a socialist country, an ally of the U.S.S.R. and a member of the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA, is a link in the socialist community, and as such it occupies a recognized place among nations.

This brief outline of my country's history since liberation cannot of course give a complete picture of how often the firmness of the Communists and the dedication and staunchness of the Hungarian people have been put to the test. Looking back over the past forty years, we find more and more proof that if there is a clear goal, and correspondingly firm leadership, if all creative forces are united, then a nation which has become master of its own destiny is able to overcome all its difficulties and attain its historical objectives. It was with reference to the path we have covered and thinking about the goals now facing us that I quoted one of the main characters of Janos Arany.

Your party congress has set new targets for the country's economic development and identified its new forms. What have been the most notable features of the experience of the past year and a half?

In March 1985 the 13th party congress formulated a clear-cut programme for the further building of an advanced socialist society, for revealing and tapping the potential of the socialist system. The congress set the following objective: constantly aware of the need for economic balance, especially the balance

of payments and the state budget, commodity stocks and wages, increase effectiveness of the national economy and thus create a basis for raising the people's living standards. Important conditions for a fuller use of the potential of the socialist system are the acceleration of scientific and technological development, efforts to reveal people's creative forces, and the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the nation by improving democratic institutions.

Since the congress ended we have started to implement its decisions. Unfortunately, it has to be said that as regards the main goal—accelerated economic development—we are not pleased with the start that has been made or with the present state of affairs. In addition to objective factors—international economic conditions, a very cold winter in 1985, and the present drought—we should look for the causes of this in shortcomings in our own work.

While we have not managed to achieve the desired goals in the economy, we have started to carry out the congress decisions in some other important fields. After the congress we held elections to the National Assembly and the local councils under a new electoral law which makes it binding to put up at least two candidates in every constituency. The elections took place in a favourable political atmosphere and have brought positive results. Change for the better has been achieved in the work of the trade unions and other bodies representing the interests of the working people.

As part of the effort to improve the system of economic management, councils of enterprises have been set up which give them still greater autonomy and responsibility for economic activity. A special law establishes the norms of honest economic activity and obstructs dishonest economic practices. Following the congress decisions, the local councils have become more independent. While the state retains its monopoly over the issue of money and control of currency resources, we have set about creating a banking system that keeps separate the functions of banks of issue, state financing and trade. We hope this will lead to the kind of credit and financial practices which will better serve the purpose of enhancing production activity.

Although the overall economic processes are still not favourable, economic performance has improved in some branches. Many large enterprises have managed to raise output, increase exports and achieve good results in the use of manpower. We have expanded our multiform cooperation with the socialist countries. Our economic ties with the Soviet Union are developing dynamically. Between 1986 and 1990 we hope to increase trade between the two countries by 30 per cent.

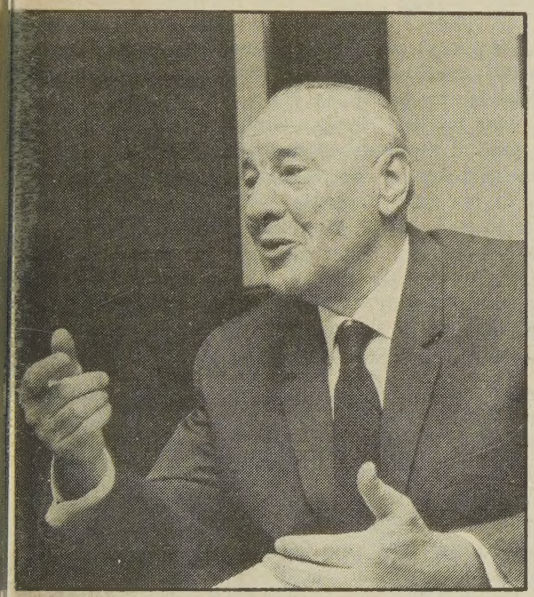
socialist society, with communism as our ultimate goal.

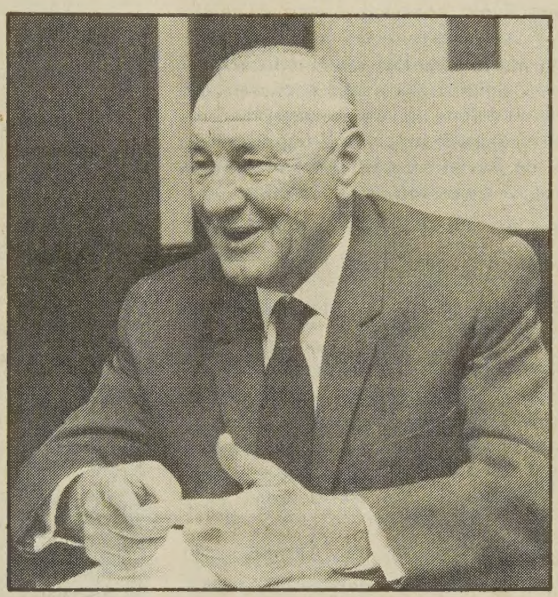
Our party is firmly convinced that the congress decisions are correct and—given improved work and concentration of effort—they can be fulfilled to good effect. In our work we can rely on the political maturity and industry of our people. Internationally, our bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the socialist countries provides a solid buffer.

Perhaps you are in a better position than anyone else, Comrade Kadar, to trace the progress of the community of free socialist nations. How would you formulate new tasks? And what methods do you think will be useful in solving them?

Since the second world war decisive changes in the world balance of forces have been brought about by the fact that the socialist system, first established in the U.S.S.R., has become a world system.

Another momentous change in recent decades, also linked with the above change, is the collapse of the "classical" colonial system. The peoples that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke are ever more resolutely opposing the insidious machinations of the imperialists and working to consolidate the





The Central Committee of the HSWP and the government of Hungary have taken a number of measures to meet our economic objectives and targets for this year. These measures serve to develop the production structure, stimulate technical progress and export, provide greater incentives for enterprises and workers to improve economic performance, make better use of working time, and strengthen labour discipline. In every field we attach great significance to the human factor and better tapping of the intellectual and creative potential inherent in society. A fine example is offered by the participation of our specialists in the VEGA space programme, and this also speaks volumes about the potential of science in Hungary.

Western propaganda has been rather ingenious in attaching various labels to socialist countries. For example, Hungary has been described as a country of "limited socialism" or "limited pluralism" and sometimes, somewhat indulgently, as a "communist state." It seems to me that you, Comrade General Secretary, have already commented on that by saying: "I wish it were so. Unfortunately, this is not yet the case. But we would like it to be the case and we are working towards this end." Is there any need for a further reply?

I think there is. First, about our immediate objectives and longer-term prospects. At present we are building an advanced

independence of their countries and build independent national economies, with more and more of these countries choosing the non-capitalist path of social and economic development.

The social and economic progress of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the international authority of our community add to the appeal of socialism and provide a reliable bulwark for every progressive and peace-loving movement. I believe therefore that the most important thing for the socialist community at present is that our countries, separately and together, should further reveal the advantages of the socialist system.

Historical experience shows that we should never forget that the socialist community is made up of independent national states. They are linked by the identity of basic goals and interests. This gives strength to proletarian, socialist internationalism. But the system in any given socialist country can only be secure and effective—and this is one of the main conclusions the Hungarian Communists have drawn—when the Marxist-Leninist party—the leading force in society—makes decisions that simultaneously and equally take into account the general and fundamental laws of socialism and the local conditions and national traditions in the given country. All this is necessary if the masses are to support our goals, if the advantages of the socialist system are to be used fully, and if we are to be reliable partners of our socialist allies and of all the champions of peace.

There is no doubt that each party and each socialist country should formulate the strategy and tactics to solve these tasks in accordance with their own possibilities, but it is also true that it cannot do without the experience of the community of socialist states. The present situation makes it more urgent than ever before for the socialist countries to strengthen their cohesion.

In their foreign and home policies the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian government seek, in keeping with our common principles and the identity of our main interests and goals, to foster links with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries covering all the important areas of political, economic and social life.

The social and economic progress of the socialist countries and the international authority and influence of our community are inconceivable without the existence of the Soviet Union, the historic achievements of the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people.

We in our country followed with interest and sympathy the 27th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, in considering new social and economic phenomena and international relations and creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory, approached the key issues of our era in a new way, stimulating further reflection and action. We are convinced that the acceleration of the Soviet Union's social and economic development and the implementation of the large-scale programme adopted by the congress will not only bring considerable change in the life of the Soviet people, but will give an impetus to the development of other socialist countries.

Not only this country, but the whole world, and all peace-loving people approve and support the foreign policy strategy of the CPSU, which aims at ending the arms race, preventing nuclear war, preserving peace, and solving the global problems on which the survival of mankind depends.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the government of Hungary and our people are convinced supporters of the Soviet foreign policy initiatives, and attach great significance to concerted actions by socialist countries on major issues of world politics. We for our part are doing everything in our power to ensure that our common initiatives in the world arena yield results.

We consider it an honour that Budapest should have been the venue of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee last summer and that it was in our capital that it adopted the appeal containing a programme for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, which would go a long way towards strengthening peace and security in our continent.

One of the key areas of joint work between the socialist countries is economic cooperation. We share a determination to raise our work in this area to a new level meeting higher standards, as recent sessions of CMEA have also shown. One way of achieving this is through broader scientific and technological cooperation and specialization, and the setting up of joint enterprises. The same end will be served by the establishment of direct links between enterprises. A higher level of economic cooperation would offer greater possibilities for the development of the whole community and the individual states it comprises, and strengthen the international economic positions of our countries.

The states that make up the socialist world system embarked on revolutionary transformations at different times and in different historical conditions, starting out from different levels of productive forces. They differ in size of territory and population. Multiform cooperation among the countries of the socialist community has never come automatically. We are convinced, therefore, that contributing towards stronger unity and cooperation by its policies is an important task of the Marxist-Leninist party which guides the building of socialism. It is only if the party constantly and consciously seeks to contribute by its policies to unity and cooperation among socialist countries that it can best serve the twin goals of raising the living standards of its own people and the cause of social progress in the world.

By way of conclusion I can say: we believe that the Hungarian Communists and people, the Hungarian People's Republic can contribute to our common cause primarily by successfully tackling the tasks of construction on the agenda in their own country.

Our country and our people are not alone in struggling and working for a peaceful socialist future. We are trying to live up to our role in solving our common tasks because in this way we serve the vital interests of our own people. Making use of time-tested methods and looking for new opportunities, we will promote cooperation with our Soviet friends and other fraternal socialist countries and pool our efforts in work and the struggle to strengthen peace and international security and solve the global problems facing mankind.

On this morning of October 1 all the Hungarian papers carried the news of the agreement on an early meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik. This is good news.

It is in many ways an unusual autumn. September saw the successful conclusion of the Stockholm conference and the Vienna session of the IAEA. Preparations have got under way for the Vienna meeting which will mark the next stage in the Helsinki process. And there seem to be favourable signs at the Geneva negotiations. At the beginning of our talk, Comrade Kadar, we referred to the Hungarian poet Arany. Now I am reminded of Pushkin's "Boldino autumn." (This phrase is used to denote a particularly fruitful period, like the autumn in Boldino where the poet Pushkin wrote so many masterpieces.) **Do you believe there are grounds for talking about a "Boldino autumn" in international politics?**

As far as I remember, the "Boldino autumn" was the autumn when Pushkin's creative potential was most fully revealed. Certain hopes and perspectives have been generated in international politics today. Responsible political leaders in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and—more broadly—throughout the world—sincerely wish international issues to be solved by negotiation, taking into account the interests of all the parties concerned. Accordingly, the leading bodies of the Hungarian People's Republic welcomed the Geneva summit during which the sides made a statement of fundamental importance. They jointly stressed that neither side would seek military superiority, that there can be no winners in a nuclear war and that nuclear war should be prevented. Regrettably, the Geneva summit has not brought notable progress, although the Soviet Union has come out with many sensible proposals, with regard to the interests of both sides. Important proposals and initiatives have also been put forward by the latest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. The socialist countries have also taken vigorous steps at various international negotiations, for example, at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly and at meetings within the framework of the European cooperation and security-building process. World public opinion gives its due to the successful conclusion of the Stockholm conference. For our part, we expect a similar conclusion to the Vienna and Geneva negotiations.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are of particular significance for international politics and it is very important to see progress in their bilateral relations. I am glad that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan are shortly to meet in Iceland to prepare the schedule for a visit by the CPSU General Secretary to the U.S. I am convinced that all who want durable and secure peace will welcome the summit meeting as a step towards new possibilities in improving the international situation.

Budapest

ICELAND

Meeting-Place Reykjavik

What strikes the eye in the Icelandic capital is the measured pace of life. Haste is frowned upon by the Icelanders as bad taste. Yet when the announcement was made on September 30 that Reykjavik had been chosen the venue of a meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, the news greatly impressed the reserved Icelanders. The press, radio and television are unanimous that it is a great honour for the country.

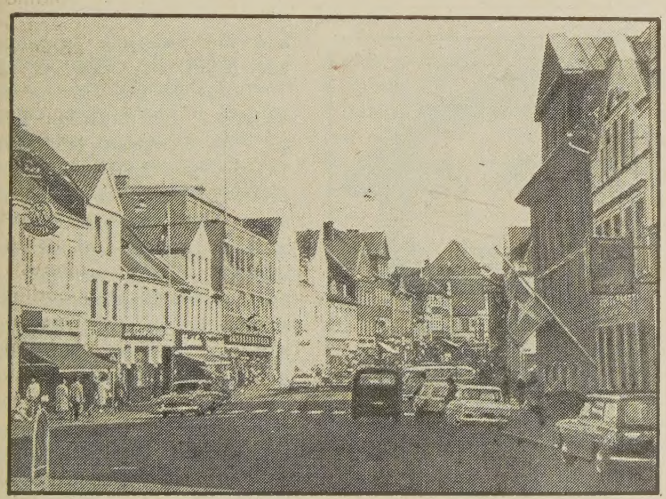
"Our capital has never before accommodated so many visitors," I was told by Reykjavik's deputy mayor Magnus Ouskarsson. "In addition to the 400 members of the Soviet and American delegations, more than two thousand journalists have come.

"The talks are taking place at Hofdi Villa."

The Icelanders, the deputy mayor added, were accorded great trust by the leaders of the two great powers and tried to live up to it by organizing the meeting perfectly.

On a bright day the Icelandic capital with its small buildings painted in different colours looks like a merry mosaic. A church with a cone-shaped dome is towering over the city, set against the bright blue sky. Wooden houses faced with sheet iron stand side by side with modern buildings of sophisticated design in downtown Reykjavik.

In its port you can see ships flying the flags of many countries lying at anchor. The life of this Atlantic island has always been linked with fishing and fish packing which account for about three fourths of the country's export earnings. There are also aluminium, ferroalloy and cement plants, shipyards and furniture and woolen factories. Many of those industries are located in the capital.



Reykjavik's main street.

Last August Reykjavik marked its 200th anniversary. In 1830 it had a mere 500 residents and 50 homes, whereas today its population has reached more than 90,000 (out of the country's total population of 240,000).

Iceland proclaimed its independence relatively recently, on June 17, 1944. For five and a half centuries before that (since 1380), the island had belonged to Denmark. In 1918 Iceland secured recognition of its sovereignty but remained bound by a convention to the Danish throne for another quarter-century.

Urbanization has slowed down in the country in the past few years, as more and more people prefer the countryside to life in the capital. Before that the excessive concentration of the population in Reykjavik had had a negative effect on the economic growth of other parts of the country with provincial townships and communities running to seed. Even today young Icelanders prefer to live in the capital, where they can find more challenging jobs. Reykjavik also has to offer more in the way of recreation and entertainment with its theatres, museums, picture galleries, large libraries and a university.

The Icelandic capital and the country's unique nature with geysers, volcanoes, waterfalls and glaciers are attracting more and more tourists. Many of them are surprised upon hearing that Reykjavik relies for its heating on subterranean hot waters which also help Icelanders grow vegetables and flowers in their hothouses round the year. The tiny Iceland also is a chess power and has several international grandmasters. All the visitors bow to the industry of the Icelanders, who have built a modern capital and well-appointed communities in the rigorous environment, on volcanic rock.

As my car crawled through the streets of Reykjavik, congested with rush-hour traffic, I switched on the radio. The announcer was dwelling on the main news item of the day, the meeting of the leaders of the two great powers, which are bearing special responsibility for the fate of world peace.

E. BARBUKHO
APN correspondent—
for New Times
Reykjavik

IAEA

Tasks for Tomorrow

● INTERVIEW WITH THE AGENCY'S DIRECTOR-GENERAL

As the need for nuclear power plants was discussed pro and con, Hans Blix formulated his main argument in their favour as follows:

"They offer the most ecological method of energy generation. Environment pollution and the depletion of natural resources are fraught with a gradual destruction of life on earth. Our generation must bear it in mind that we belong to the world rather than vice versa, that we must not bequeath a contaminated and devastated earth to the generations to come. This is why I am all for generating nuclear electricity."

I had a talk with the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) right after a special session of the agency's General Conference in Vienna which had adopted two important conventions: on the prompt notification of, and on rendering aid in, nuclear accidents.

The Soviet Union put forward a programme of working out international provisions for a safe progress of the nuclear power industry. Many participants of the Vienna forum are of the opinion that

the exhaustiveness of the information furnished by the U.S.S.R. on the Chernobyl accident and its lessons contributed to the session's success and to the adoption of its important documents.

What are the prospects of the IAEA's further activity?

Hans Blix. After the completion of the General Conference session at the ministerial level, the work will be carried on. We are planning a number of activities meant to make nuclear power plants safer. To begin with we shall discuss, of course, the existing norms and standards of nuclear installations' safety. These are to be brought into conformity with modern conditions. Some of the norms will probably be made binding on all. The IAEA also intends to expand the range of the services it renders its member states, and to give the nuclear reactors in operation there expert examination, if requested. We already offer such services to a number of countries. Our experts have been to South Korea, Pakistan, Spain, Sweden, France, and will go to the F.R.G. and Holland soon. This is no obligatory international inspection—just technical aid which any member state may have for the asking.

Will the IAEA help its member states train nuclear power plant personnel, too?

Hans Blix. Yes, we are going to offer this service as well. The Chernobyl and Three Mile Island (U.S.) accidents are known to have been caused by operators' errors. Obviously, the training of atomic power plant personnel is of great importance. The problem of man-machine relationships is now coming to the forefront in general. We are going to discuss this problem at our conference to be held in Japan next year.

V. MIKHEYEV

Vienna

CMEA—EEC

New Round

● DELEGATIONS OF EXPERTS OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY HAVE MET IN GENEVA

The meeting was of an exploratory nature with a view to discussing ways and means of establishing official relations between the two economic organizations.

The talks between the CMEA and the EEC began as far back as 1973-75. The first preliminary meetings, held on the initiative of the CMEA, examined the expediency of establishing official relations and contacts between the two bodies.

In the course of negotiations in 1976-80 the CMEA submitted the draft of a broad framework agreement on the basis of relations between the CMEA and the EEC as organizations that would define also the principles of trade and economic relations of the CMEA member countries with the EEC as a whole and the Common Market countries. The Brussels headquarters of the EEC advanced its own draft which boiled down to establishing a working relationship between the Secretariat of the CMEA and the Commission of the European Communities on a limited range of issues. This working relationship, in the opinion of the EEC, should be confined to exchange of information in such spheres as statistics, standardization, long-term economic forecasting and environmental protection.

By September 1980, eleven rounds of talks had been held which had resulted in accord on a number of articles of a relevant agreement and the understanding that the CMEA and the EEC would conclude it as two organizations that

BURKINA FASO

First Fruits of the Revolution

● PRESIDENT THOMAS SANKARA ANSWERS NEW TIMES QUESTIONS ON THE EVE OF HIS VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R.

President Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso.

The English for Burkina Faso is "the land of the worthy." A former French colony known as the Upper Volta was ruled after the declaration of independence in 1960 by reactionary forces which pursued an anti-popular neocolonialist policy. As cliques succeeded each other, nothing changed. The Upper Volta remained one of the world's poorest and most backward countries. Finally, a people's revolution took place there on August 4, 1983, bringing to office the National Revolutionary Council headed by Captain Thomas Sankara who later became President and head of government.

In the interview granted me on the eve of his trip to the Soviet Union President Thomas Sankara said that the revolution did more for the people in three years than the neocolonialist rulers had done over 23 previous years. The state machinery was completely restructured. Committees for Defence of the Revolution (which actually discharge the functions of local authorities) and the People's Revolutionary Tribunals were set up.

"Today 22 per cent of our children," the President added, "go to school as against 16 per cent before the revolution. Many new schools, and 7,500 first-aid stations have been built and two ambulance centres opened in each of the 30 provinces. The construction of irrigation systems is of great importance for our drought-stricken country. After the revolution we have built 250 water storages as against a mere 90 over the previous 23 years. A railway is now being laid to a region rich in minerals."

Peasants constitute 90 per cent of Burkina Faso's population. In three years the revolutionary government gave landless peasants twice as much land as the former regimes had.

"Our greatest achievement, however," the President stressed, "is that we have succeeded in changing the people's mentality. Neocolonial mentality has ceded to the awareness of the need for anti-imperialist fight."

Having noted the enthusiasm of the people who

would promote cooperation in such areas as the environment, statistics, standardization, economic forecasting and environmental protection. However, no agreement was reached on a number of fundamental questions and the talks were suspended.

To overcome the deadlock, the CMEA came forward with another initiative, proposing the establishment of official relations by signing a joint declaration a draft of which was submitted to the European Economic Community in September 1985. The substance of the CMEA proposals is that the establishment of official relations between the two organizations would make it possible to develop cooperation between the two in accordance with their competence in spheres of mutual interest.

The CMEA countries proceed from the premise that the CMEA and the EEC are the biggest economic groups on the continent, each of which has accumulated no little experience and plays a definite role in the world economy. Hence mutually beneficial relations between them in the economic sphere would be useful for expanding commercial cooperation and for improving the political climate in Europe.

By our staff

U.S.A.—BRITAIN

Laying Down the Law

● WASHINGTON'S INTERFERENCE HAS EVOKED A VERITABLE STORM OF INDIGNATION. THE PURPOSE OF THE INTERFERENCE IS TO "STOP LABOUR" AT ALL COSTS

The Pentagon's two high-ranking civilians—Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Defence, and Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defence—have a reputation for soldierly straightforwardness. Examples abound, the latest one being their verbal attack on London, which Washington has "special relations" with (in the military sphere, above all).

The Americans fulminated against the Labour Party over TV channels. Mincing no words, Weinberger accused the Labourites of an intention to torpedo the Atlantic alliance. Perle described their military programme as "wildly irresponsible, separate and apart from the historic NATO strategy."

This open interference into internal affairs aroused a storm of indignation. Denis Healey, the Foreign Secretary of the "shadow cabinet," said in a radio address that Richard

joined in the building of a new society, Thomas Sankara called my attention to the problems involved in attaining the objectives set, particularly in the fulfilment of the five-year plan for 1986-90.

An acute shortage of funds restricts the country's potential for purchasing industrial equipment and training technical experts of its own.

Nevertheless, the President stressed, the people of Burkina Faso are determined to make progress in all spheres.

I was told that in his youth Thomas Sankara had frequented the Soviet cultural centre in Ouagadougou and even studied Russian there. I asked him about that.

"Indeed, I visited the Soviet cultural centre in Ouagadougou as a cadet of the Kadiogo Military Academy," the President replied. "After all, young people always seek knowledge, discoveries, new friends, want to learn more and simply to satisfy their curiosity. I admired the history of the U.S.S.R. which has left its imprint on the whole world and made the Soviet Union so attractive to youth, especially thanks to the majestic figure of Lenin. I deemed it necessary to master the Russian language so as to enrich my knowledge of your country, its culture and its exciting history. That was why I visited the Soviet cultural centre, although for me, a serviceman, this involved a number of problems because at that time anti-Sovietism and anti-communism reigned in our country."

I asked the President in what ways Burkina Faso's relations with socialist countries had changed.

"The coming of the National Revolutionary Council to power," Thomas Sankara said, "has led to a radical change of the socio-economic and political situation in the country. The people of Burkina Faso have carried out a popular democratic revolution. We have restructured all spheres of our life on the basis of the political philosophy of materialism, which has naturally ushered in a new stage of our relations with socialist countries, specifically with the Soviet Union which shares this fundamental political philosophy with us. The National Revolutionary Council, established in compliance with the will of the people, pursues an anti-imperialist policy. This naturally induces it to seek closer relationships with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which have been pursuing, from the very outset, an anti-imperialist line aimed at securing peace, justice and happiness for the peoples, at their liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation. Burkina Faso can maintain close relations only with those who pursue just such a policy. This is the main reason why our relations with the socialist countries are imbued with sincere friendly feelings.

"I think that now the scene is set for an effective development of close cooperation between Burkina Faso and the Soviet Union. This is precisely the purpose of our trip to your wonderful and great country of convinced patriots. Cooperation and exchanges in the fields of the economy, technology, culture and sport, as well as links between the CPSU and the National Revolutionary Council, are to constitute the groundwork for the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between us. I hope this viewpoint is shared in the Soviet Union."

S. KONDAKOV
TASS correspondent
in Ouagadougou,
exclusive for New Times

Perle was as rude to his own staff as to his colleagues abroad and referred to what had happened as a violation of all diplomatic norms. The papers recalled Vice-President George Bush's promise not to interfere in British affairs which he had given—not without reason—to Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader. It presently transpired, however, that the Pentagon's demarche had emerged from intense consultations with the State Department which realized full well what would ensue from it. Simply speaking, Weinberger and Perle, with their brusque manner, were selected as the right men for the job.

No secret is made of the reason for this move: it was timed to coincide with the Blackpool Labour Party conference. Neil Kinnock told the conference that if his party won the elections he would abandon nuclear weapons and remove the American bases equipped with such weapons from the British territory. Nuclear defence would be replaced by that using conventional arms.

It would be unwise to jump to conclusions, of course. We know from past experience that preelection promises remain promises all too often. On those very same days there was talk about a split in the Labour leadership. Selfsame Healey publicly voiced his "doubts" and left the question of keeping the American bases open. According to the Press Association agency, this statement shook the calm and unity Neil Kinnock was all out to demonstrate at the conference.

It will be recalled that the Liberal Party conference also declared against nuclear weapons contrary to its leadership's will. The Liberals' "mutiny" at their conference and the growing popularity of the Labourites (who are five per cent ahead of other parties at opinion polls) go to indicate what the sentiments of the British are.

Elections will be held in Britain next spring, at the latest. However, attempts to eradicate the "anti-American infection" are being made already today. The British Defence Minister Younger and Weinberger are reported to have entered into secret negotiation, their purpose being, according to the Sunday Telegraph, to work out a plan of joint action to reduce the Labourites' chances of victory. All this leaves no room for diplomatic subtleties.

These developments did not come as a surprise to anyone. They had been catalyzed by the American bombing raid on Libya (the bombers had taken off from their British bases). The raid was preceded by the American occupation of Grenada where London is represented by a governor. It was then that the placards saying "No U.S. Air Force personnel welcome in this car" appeared on London cabs. A symptomatic gesture: two out of every three Britishers condemned the intervention against Libya. Sixty-seven per cent thought that United States had too much influence on military policies in Britain. Seventy per cent had no confidence at all in the ability of the United States to deal wisely with present world problems.

London's Financial Times arrived at the legitimate conclusion that the U.S. Administration's stand on arms control might become a watershed in transatlantic relations—this time, in the all-European rather than American-British context.

Speaking in Blackpool for the Socialist International, Willy Brandt described the intention to remove American nuclear weapons from the British territory as "a forward-looking policy" and added: "Our ultimate objective is to make Europe a zone free from nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, such as chemical arms."

Washington's frenzy indicates that this objective is by no means unrealistic.

A. YUGOV

AUSTRIA

Before the Elections

● THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THE COUNTRY IS UNDERGOING SERIOUS CHANGES.

These changes are connected with the election campaign in Austria. On November 23, Austrians will go to the polls to elect a new National Council—one of the Austrian parliament's two chambers.

These are going to be preterm elections. They were preceded by an acute government crisis which had ensued from the decision by the presidium of the ruling Socialist Party (SPA) to say goodbye to the Austrian Freedom Party (AFP) it had been in coalition with since 1983. A formal pretext for this was provided by the Carinthian politician Jorg Haider being elected the AFP leader instead of the present Vice-Chancellor Norbert Steger, Minister of Trade, Commerce and Industry.

Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky explained to newsmen and to representatives of the Austrian public that his party's decision to break "the small coalition" was due to Haider having failed to provide any guarantees of the continuity of the federal policy his predecessor had pursued. In a certain measure the SPA leadership's decision indeed came from the misgivings it had about Haider who, within only a short period of his emergence on the political scene, had already swung from the liberal to the extreme-right wing of the AFP. However, the Socialists' move is actually part of their effort to find a way out of the hard economic situation the country found itself in and to stop the decline of their popularity fraught with a loss of power.

The economic situation has indeed worsened markedly, with unemployment growing and budgetary expenditures steadily exceeding revenues. The blame for this is naturally laid on the ruling cabinet. The presidential elections held last May-June, and the Styria Landtag elections in September showed a five-per-cent decrease in the SPA's following, on the whole. The Austrian People's Party (APP) of the Opposition is a steady 4-5 per cent ahead of the Socialists in public opinion polls.

Now the Socialists have got another headache—the Green Party which has emerged on the republic's political scene recently and absorbed those disappointed with the SPA's policy (there are quite a few of them, by the way). Freda Meissner-Blau, a former Socialist who was the Greens' presidential candidate at the election, got about five per cent of the vote.

Under the circumstances, some of the SPA leaders decided to broaden the coalition base and set their sights on forming a "big SPA-APP coalition." If they succeed in that, election returns will only serve to ascertain the distribution of cabinet posts. In some of their preelection statements Franz Vranitzky and APP Chairman Alois Mock have already called themselves the head of the new cabinet and vice-chancellor, respectively.

The future government is expected to try and make the state of affairs in the country's nationalized industry—and in its economy as a whole—healthier. This is supposed to be achieved through a substantial personnel reduction in the nationalized sector (in the steel industry, above all), a partial denationalization of this sector and the annulment of certain social gains the working people achieved over the years when the SPA was in office. Trying to bring about "economic recovery" at the working people's expense is nothing new—some other West European countries are already at it.

In the SPA leaders' view, preterm elections will, on the

"He who votes for Hitler votes for war," Ernst Thaelmann's impassioned warning rang out more than half a century ago. The world's political image has changed beyond all recognition since then. "Yet despite these profound changes Thaelmann's ideas, his life experience, his warnings against the dangers of fascism and war have lost none of their topical importance," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the meeting held to mark the unveiling in Moscow of a monument to this ardent revolutionary. The ceremony was attended by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the G.D.R. State Council, Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and Thaelmann's daughter, Irma Gabel-Thaelmann.

Ernst Thaelmann, once an honorary deputy of the Moscow City Soviet, has now come to Moscow to stay.

Photo by S. Smirnov

one hand, spare the Socialist Party the trouble of making such unpopular decisions single-handed, which would naturally go down badly with the electors. On the other hand, they will prevent the consolidation of the Greens who have not united into a single party as yet and still constitute a multitude of tiny political groupings.

The manoeuvres of the SPA's "pragmatists" meet with resistance on the part of its left wing. The working people are also worried about them. After all the working people are hit the hardest by the "economic recovery measures." The Socialists' plans evoked protest demonstrations and brought the Greens and Communists more votes in the industrial centres of Styria during the recent local elections.

In the meantime, the election campaign is entering its "hot" phase. Despite the plans for forming a "big coalition," each of the parties—the SPA and the APP—intends to win a relative majority in parliament and, consequently, the Chancellor's office (as provided for by the Constitution). This is exactly why the APP conducted the recent political debates in the National Council under the slogan "With Chancellor Mock We Shall Tidy Up Our House."

For their part, the SPA leaders stake on Franz Vranitzky's popularity. One of the election posters Vienna house walls are already pasted with says: "Vranitzky: I Promise Only What I Can Do."

B. NIKOLAYEV

Vienna

U.S.A.—SOUTH AFRICA

Defeat for the President

● THE SANCTIONS ARE NOW LAW. BUT WILL THEY BE ENFORCED?

President Reagan's September 26 veto on the Congressional resolution imposing a number of economic sanctions on South Africa was welcomed in Pretoria with enthusiasm. Pieter Botha voiced his admiration of the U.S. President's resolute stand. But the jubilation was premature. On September 29 the House of Representatives and on October 2 the Senate voted down the Presidential veto with more than the required two thirds maiority.

The U.S. Administration exerted every effort to ward off its defeat in the collision with the Capitol. On the eve of the voting in the House, it announced that the President was prepared to accept some of the sanctions stipulated in the resolution agreed on by the House and the Senate. It should be noted that the House of Representatives, in which the Democrats have the majority, initially endorsed tougher sanctions than the Senate. In the Conference Committee, however, the Congressmen made some concessions to the Senators, who insisted on more limited sanctions. The Administration on its part proposed paring them down even more.

Although the majority of the Republicans in the Senate voted for the resolution on sanctions, the White House hoped that the two thirds majority needed to overrule the Presidential veto could not be mustered, and to this end resorted to all possible expedients. For one thing, Reagan hastened to appoint a black diplomat as U.S. ambassador to South Africa. But this failed to make the expected impression. For the issue was not who would represent the U.S. in Pretoria, but the U.S. attitude to the apartheid regime.

On the eve of vote on the veto, the Senate was addressed by Secretary of State George Shultz. One of the arguments he advanced was rather unexpected: according to an ABC television report, he dwelt at length on the coming meeting in Reykjavik, stressing that the President would find it difficult to discuss matters of principle with Mikhail Gorbachev if the veto was overruled and the President defeated in Congress just before this important meeting.

The White House was unable to save the Presidential veto. Following the House of Representatives, the Senate likewise turned it down. Thus, the conflict over sanctions on South Africa ended in a defeat for the Administration.

The resolution passed by

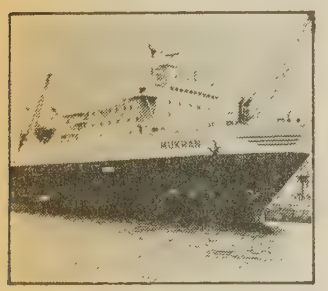
Congress calls for a ban on new investments by U.S. corporations and banks in the South African economy and on the import from that country of textiles, steel, pig iron, coal, uranium ore, and agricultural produce, and the denial to South African aircraft of landing rights in the U.S. It must be mentioned, however, that sanctions of one or another kind have been imposed on South Africa before this, but have never been strictly observed. Hence they have had no serious effect on the South African economy.

N. RESHETNYAK

G.D.R.—U.S.S.R.

The Mukran—Klaipeda Ferry

● A NEW INTERNATIONAL SEA FERRY HAS GONE INTO OPERATION



Until a few years ago the fishing village of Mukran situated in the northeast of Rügen Island (G.D.R.) was quite obscure. Following the construction of a ferry complex—a part of the sea train-ferry service between the U.S.S.R. and the G.D.R.—the village will become a major seaport. The first phase of the project went into operation in Mukran on October 2. The ferry service was called for by a steady growth of the two-way U.S.S.R.-G.D.R. cargo traffic.

Mukran was finally decided upon as the G.D.R. end of the ferry crossing route for a number of reasons. It is only 506 km from Mukran to Klaipeda as the crow flies. Local hydrological conditions are good. Rügen Island has direct rail service with Berlin and other cities.

While designing and building the ferry system, Soviet and G.D.R. experts sought to make the shore facilities and lift bridges in Mukran and Klaipeda identical. As a result, it will take only four hours to load and unload a ferry in each of the ports. The ferry as such is a double-decker accommodating 103 railway cars.

On the captain's bridge I met Gerhard Gumprecht, the ferry master, 49, a Berlin-born ship master of 21 years standing who embarked on a sailor's career 32 years ago. The ferry is named Mukran. This is the first of the six ferries to ply between Klaipeda and Mukran. Three of them will fly a Soviet flag, and the other three—that of the G.D.R.

L. YELISEYEV
our own correspondent

Berlin

U.S.A.—LIBYA

Top Secret Lie

● THE VICIOUS ANTI-LIBYAN CAMPAIGN WAS PIVOTED ON IT

Libya is now the talk of Washington again. What has that country done to the White House this time? Nothing at all. On the contrary, it has transpired that the White House is guilty of foul play itself. It lied as it fulminated against Libya.

The cynical anti-Libyan plan worked out by John Poindexter, President's National Security Affairs Adviser, and endorsed on August 14, 1986, at a White House meeting was translated into action without further ado. For obvious reasons it was kept top secret until October 2 when the Washington Post carried an enormous article by its correspondent, Bob Woodward, entitled "Gaddafi Target of Secret U.S. Deception Plan." The title speaks for itself.

"In August," the article says, "the Reagan Administration launched a secret and unusual campaign of deception designed to convince Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi that he was about to be attacked again by U.S. bombers and perhaps be ousted in a coup.

"One of the key elements of the new strategy," the author quotes the Poindexter memo, "is that it combined real and illusionary events—through a disinformation programme—with the basic goal of making Gaddafi **think** (word underlined in the original) that there is a high degree of internal opposition to him within Libya, that his trusted aides are disloyal, that the U.S. is about to move against him militarily."

These explosive three pages contained a programme for American interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, of its destabilization, of overthrowing its government and of establishing in Libya a regime to Washington's liking.

Let us recall the frenzied anti-Libyan campaign launched by Washington late last summer. It comprised the Sea Wind joint American-Egyptian naval exercises carried out in provocatory proximity to the Libyan shores; an ostentatious concentration of the U.S. Sixth Fleet's ships, with an impressive reinforcement rushed in to the Mediterranean from across the Atlantic; the landing on the American airfields in Britain of extra bombers like those which had raided Libya in mid-April; and finally, a tour of the West European capitals by Vernon Walters, U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N., a notorious expert in "secret operations." Also worth mentioning here is a trip by General Richard Lawson, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. European Command, to Chad which had the purpose (as the Wall Street Journal "blurted out") of finding out whether Chad would be able to "put pressure on Gaddafi" with French and U.S. assistance.

All this stinks. What riles the press, however, is not America's treatment of Libya, but the White House's treatment of the "free press" itself, which was allegedly used without regard to its reputation.

The above-mentioned Wall Street Journal had the main role to play in carrying out the "deception plan" by spreading cock-and-bull stories now about "Gaddafi's new terroristic plans," now about the "countermeasures" planned by the U.S. against Libya. In doing this it referred to "informed sources," to mysterious spokesmen of the Administration and to high-ranking representatives of "intelligence circles." Other American mass media greedily swallowed the "dope," and now "claim damages."

The "deception plan" scandal is flaring up. The White House is cross with the press, and vice versa, and the public feels cheated. It is hard to expect an end to the White House's Libyan syndrome, however. For all we can tell, Poindexter is now busy hatching a new memo.

E. KORSHUNOV

Thinking in Terms of Today

VALENTIN FALIN

How is it that even today, regardless of all the experience we have amassed, we cannot arrive at constructive conclusions?

People more often than they ought to look not forward but back, in hope that the past will offer the best advice and say how things will go further. The past should restrain us from repeating mistakes. Yet past experience does not answer the question as to what we may expect further. At every step we run into new facts and problems, for which there are no patent remedies or standard replies.

Scientists currently wonder how old humanity may be. Yet too seldom is the question put of how long humanity's future may be. The human being of today subconsciously feels that he is using and consuming what, generally speaking, belongs to successive generations.

Indeed, is it normal that in this current century humanity has squandered more resources than in the two and a half million years hitherto? Is it normal that war preparations alone in this 20th century have consumed more raw materials and energy than in all of humanity's history hitherto? If that is so then future generations are foredoomed to be poorer than we. After all, the earth's resources are limited. It is impossible to recreate them either today or tomorrow.

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Hence it is imperative to rethink everything without succumbing to emotion. Hence the need for a new way of thinking.

What must be relegated to the past? Above all those categories of state mentality which provoked all earlier wars and conflicts and generated all previous problems. One relic of the past, in particular, is the positions-of-strength concept, power politics which cannot extract a single barrel of oil, mine a single ton of coal, or manufacture anything that the human being would find of use or that would give all of us a better life.

There are some concepts and categories in politics that are hopelessly obsolescent morally. For instance, the concept of "the superpower." What does this mean? The ability of a large or particularly large state to rise above others and tell or prescribe to them what they may do and what they must not do. The Soviet Union is ready to renounce this status. It never sought it; it attained it de facto. This willingness is documented firstly in the proposal to renounce nuclear weapons. These weapons today divide countries into superpowers and simply strong powers.

Truth to tell, nuclear weapons conflict with moral and law. They are amoral, as whatever shape they take, considering the technical levels reached today or tomorrow, they divide the world into different grades of states. Nuclear weapons have dismembered Europe into military-political blocs and fragmented international security. If we fail by joint effort to reliably stow nuclear weapons away under lock and key humanity will be doomed. The very character and quantity of the arms stockpiled predetermine that.

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In this context there is particular reason to dwell on a nuclear test stoppage. Why is such great significance attached to it in the U.S.S.R.? I shall take just one aspect of the issue.

In four years from now the signatories of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will confer to decide what form this document should henceforth assume. There is one issue, the basic issue, that is being decided now. The U.S. and Britain are failing to live up to their commitments to discontinue nuclear tests and are obstructing efforts to have the nuclear arms race ended at long last and nuclear armouries curtailed. Unless Washington and London revise their unconstructive stance, which clashes with the very idea of non-proliferation, it will be far from clear how states, that have voluntarily pledged not to make or have nuclear weapons, will respond. The issue will gain in urgency with every passing day, and the answer may have the most far-reaching consequences.

Today the "nuclear club" has a membership of five. As many members as many opinions. The U.S.S.R. proposes phasing out nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The U.S. declares the time is not ripe for regearing doctrines from nuclear to non-nuclear weapons, from trust in strength to cooperation concepts. Perhaps it is intimated that at some time in the next century Washington will find a replacement for the military atom; meanwhile it intends to proceed with nuclear testing and qualitatively and quantitatively enlarge the assortment of U.S. nuclear armaments. Neither are the British and French attitudes encouraging, as both are energetically "modernizing" nuclear potentials. Given this state of affairs, attainment of agreement would be odd indeed. But supposing there are not five, but ten, fifteen or twenty nuclear powers? Supposing nuclear warheads will reach down to company, platoon, even section level? There is one thing

NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE DIVIDED EUROPE AND UNDERMINED INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

that will definitely occur. This is the incalculably magnified danger of the wilful or unwilful outbreak of war.

Essential is a new mode of thinking, given a clear-cut awareness that today not only nuclear weapons are pregnant with global danger. Coming up are other types and systems of armaments, comparable or even superior to the atom's devastating power. It is only natural for politicians to ponder that and imagine prospects. Yet politicians do not own the monopoly on an unbiassed and especially humanitarian reply to the challenge of political development.

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Let me remind you of a fact that many have forgotten. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 was the upshot of the interpretation, generated by the experience of the first world war, that war generally, as an instrument of national politics for resolving political, economic and other problems in relations between states, is out. However the pact was torpedoed seven years later by Italy's aggression against Abyssinia, with those paying lip service to condemnation of force passively looking on.

What I think important here is that attempts, in a certain sense bolder and more consistent than some of the initiatives the states are now taking, were made already back in the 1920s. It was plain almost 60 years ago that the philosophy and practice of state clublaw were fallacious at their very root. How obvious this should be today, one would think! Obvious to everyone. So understandable as to induce appropriate action. As it is manifestly inadequate only to talk peace.

Security is less and less a military problem and more and more a political one. This problem can be resolved not in opposition to one another, but only by working together, and exclusively on the basis of parity. A political solution in conditions of parity presupposes acknowledgement of the lawful interests of all parties and respect for these interests.

It is impossible to unilaterally strengthen the Soviet Union's security oblivious of the level of the United States' security. There is no need to do that. If the U.S. finds itself in a detrimental situation that is bad also for the Soviet Union's security. And vice versa. The U.S.S.R. proceeds from the premise—which Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed time and again—that international security can only be security in common, or mutual as far as the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are concerned. There is simply no other alternative today, tomorrow, or over the entire unforeseeable future.

For our part, we are prepared to recognize and fully implement these principles in practice. The Soviet side agrees to take into account the United States' legitimate interests and apprehensions. It sees as alien any desire to wilfully exploit the situation for egoistic ends.

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They say that if you do not feel another man's pain you are none too healthy yourself. To apply this to society is still fairer. Wherever a society or state fails to comprehend a neighbour's cares and concerns there is something wrong in this state, in this society. Regrettably, judging by experience, humanity is very far from being aware of the axiomatic truth of good-neighbourliness. It looks as if the positive assets, known as détente in both West and East, are squandered in the polemics of recent years.

Do you know how much time it took in 1972 to agree the joint Soviet-American Basic Principles of Mutual Relations? Only a couple of days—believe it or not! Not months nor years, as given was good will, the readiness to call a spade a spade, to admit that peaceful cooperation and coexistence represent the only sane and rational alternative.

Hardest of all today is to remove the blinders, to admit that the other country is no empire of evil, but has its own traditions, its own notions of what is good and what is bad. A new mode of thinking in politics and hence a new beginning will be out of the question if accepted is the thesis that Charles Wick, head of the U.S. Information Agency, formulated recently. What he said was that the Americans were fighting a war of ideas against the Soviet Union and that the U.S. Information Agency was the arsenal for this war. Dotting the i's, we must call this a psychological war.

In their relationships states always face the choice between the logics of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness and the logics of war. When a state is geared to the logics of confrontation, it inevitably amplifies its stockpiles of arms. The tighter the vise of confrontation is, the more acute is the "shortage" of weapons. Only the logics of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful cooperation can make the sides realize that disarmament is not only conceivable, but beneficial too.

■

In his last address to Congress in 1945 President Roosevelt quoted a compatriot who said that "The only way to have a friend is to be one." The Soviet Union is prepared to befriend all nations. We are ready to pull together with all nations in a constructive and positive spirit to resolve every problem. All so that humanity's future lifetime be longer than the time already lived.

LETTER FROM A READER

THEY CANNOT BE EQUATED

I very much liked "New Thinking vs. Old Thinking," and "Security for the Europeans, Security for Everyone" (the discussion on Soviet TV in which Egon Bahr and David Owen took part) published in issue 30 of this year.

In my view, new thinking is simply non-imperialist thinking—equal security and peaceful coexistence.

Egon Bahr's comment about the Soviet initiative coming late and David Owen's reference to SS-20 missiles are factual inaccuracies, perhaps a lapse of memory. A temporary one, I hope. The Soviet Union once applied to join NATO for a European security system leading to world security, but the request was turned down. And, indeed, all Soviet proposals to halt the development of nuclear weapons in the 1950s failed. There were nuclear bombers in Western Europe long before land-based Soviet missiles appeared. It is strange to blame the SS-20 as responsible for Pershing and Cruise when NATO always had an abundance of effective nuclear bomb carriers—aircraft, submarines and land-based missiles.

So what is holding up Washington from agreeing to a nuclear test ban treaty and an agreement on the no-first use of nuclear and conventional weapons? The same old imperialist idea of gaining the upper hand, a position of strength, and dictating unfavourable terms to the other side.

It is a pity that some Western politicians and even scholars and writers equate the Soviet Union with the U.S.A. as if both were equally to be blamed for international tension. It is unfair and untrue.

A. KHAN NIXON
Rossendale, Lancashire, Britain

MISCELLANY

The price jump has made things hot for the residents of Quito, Ecuador's capital.

Many in Japan protest against privatization of the state railways.

● HUMAN RIGHTS

JAIL FOR PACIFISTS

Norwegian limbs of the law will be exercised in locking up "national security risks" next year.

Though the police do not say who are classified as "security risks," last year's trial of the Popular Anti-War Movement and its newspaper Ikkevold well suggests whom Norway's security services visualize as the "internal threat." No wonder, as the trial was qualified as an attempt to "criminalize" the anti-war movement generally.

● MILITARISM

PRICE OF AGGRESSION

Military spending places a far heavier burden on Israel's economy than the official figures in the annual national budget would indicate, is the conclusion drawn in a paper that Israeli economist David Berglass has published. He notes that, according to official statistics, the slice of the GNP allocated to military needs comprised ten per cent in 1967 prior to the six-day war. It then gradually increased to reach 21 per cent between 1968 and 1973 and shot up to 28 per cent after the October war that year at which level it has remained ever since.

Thus, whereas between 1965 and 1980 the GNP increased by 530 per cent, military expenditures grew by 1,760 per cent. Appropriations for army maintenance, reservist training and the buildup of strategic stockpiles of raw materials and food in the event of economic blockade are economically most damaging.

● CONFRONTATION

NOT HIS HOME

CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss has again attacked Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the F.R.G.'s Free Democrat Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, accusing him that when he spoke of "the common European home" at the U.N. General Assembly session he had supposedly "borrowed a Soviet propaganda thesis."

Genscher retorted: "Germans ought not inflame tensions in Europe, but contribute to a peaceful settlement in the continent."

● STATISTICS

CPC RANKS GROW

Since 1981 the Chinese Communist Party enrolled 6.3 million new members, the Xinhua news agency reports. Membership has grown from 38 million in 1980 to 44 million today. Of the new enrolment 1.4 million have a technical education. The proportion of members with high school and college education increased from 14.9 per cent in 1980 to 23.9 per cent in 1985.

● RIGHTING A WRONG

50 YEARS LATER

The Spanish government has decided to return to the country's trade unions properties owned prior to Franco's usurpation of power in the 1936-39 Civil War. The largest trade unions will receive upwards of $30 million in compensation and get 160 buildings back, AP reports from Madrid.

● NAMES AND FACTS

FOUND GUILTY

In a majority vote the Ecuadoran National Congress has ousted Alberto Dahik, Minister of Finance and Public Credit, found guilty of drafting and implementing economic and financial measures that drastically boosted the cost of living and worsened the plight of the broad masses. Constitutionally, this decision is mandatory for the President.

● CONFLICT

SABOTAGE ON RAILWAYS

By cutting communication lines and wires on Japan's state railways malefactors dislocated train traffic in morning rush hours holding up about one million Tokyo suburban commuters.

Police believe this the handiwork of groupings opposed to government schemes for handing over the country's state railway corporation to six private firms. Last November saboteurs wrecked key installations in Tokyo and Osaka and held up more than six million suburban commuters.

● OPINION

NO SURVIVAL

At his Las Vegas news conference Dr Robert Gale said the Chernobyl accident has undercut the theory of post-nuclear war survival, AP reports. He said the radiation level in the atomic plant's neighbourhood had been but a tenth of that a nuclear bomb of the lowest yield would emit. They, he added, had operated in optimal conditions with many doctors available and no destroyed hospitals around. However, overflying the area, he said, he had been amazed to see not a single sign of life within a 30-kilometre radius. Dr Gale particularly emphasized the disparity between the scale of the accident and its stupendous consequences for mankind.

TASS photos, cartoon from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

An Example That Should Be Followed

Presidium member Peter Glotz and Board member Karsten Voigt of the Social Democratic Party of Germany were interviewed by our Bonn correspondent Alexander Tolpegin.

New Times: What is your party's attitude to the Soviet Union's recent decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing?

Glotz: Our party welcomed the decision as it did the appeal of the Delhi Six—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden—to halt nuclear explosions. The extension of the Soviet moratorium is a major step towards this objective. We urge the United States to follow suit.

Voigt: The Soviet Union has set an example and, I hope, the United States will follow it. In this way conditions will be provided for concluding a nuclear test ban agreement. This must, of course, be a verifiable agreement, and verification is quite possible.

New Times: What can the Federal Republic do to make such an agreement a reality?

Voigt: The F.R.G. is a medium power. But it, too, bears its share of political responsibility for present-day world affairs. We have called on the government to define its position clearly. The question of ending nuclear tests cannot, I think, be put off indefinitely. A bilateral moratorium could eventually lead to a reduction of nuclear arsenals.

New Times: Substantiating the extension of the moratorium, Mikhail Gorbachev said that Soviet foreign policy, including disarmament issues, is based on an understanding of the profound changes at work in the world. How does the Social Democratic Party take these changes into account in its foreign policy line?

Why Soviet Seismologists Did Not Get to Nevada

After American seismologists had set up three monitoring stations near the Soviet test site at Semipalatinsk as part of a joint Soviet-American experiment, a group of Soviet seismologists was to have crossed the Atlantic. However, Washington refused them entry visas and "explained" on what terms the Soviet geophysicists could visit the United States.

What are these terms? What is the outlook for the unique geophysical experiment now being carried out by scientists of the Institute of Physics of the Earth under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and their U.S. colleagues? We put these questions to Professor Mikhail Gokhberg, acting director of the institute, and Igor Nersesov, corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

Gokhberg: Under an agreement reached between the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council, the setting up of American monitoring stations near Semipalatinsk and Karkaralinsk was to have been followed by Soviet geophysicists leaving for the Nevada nuclear test site and selecting, jointly with their American colleagues, places in which to set up stations similar to those already in operation here. The Soviet group comprised Igor Nersesov, in charge of the experiment on the Soviet side, as well as our institute's research associates Sergei Daragan, Oleg Stolyarov, Nikolai Tarasov and E. Sutulov. All of them had worked with American scientists near Semipalatinsk, while Igor Nersesov had repeatedly visited the U.S. and had never previously had visa problems.

Nevertheless, our scientists were denied entry visas. They were only allowed to enter the U.S. on one of the following two conditions.

If they go to the U.S. as private individuals at the invitation of the non-government organization, the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council. In this case they will be able to visit Washington, New York and Dallas, meet with their American colleagues and visit companies that manufacture seismological equipment, but not to see the nuclear test site, let alone select places for the installation of monitoring instruments.

The Soviet scientists could receive an official invitation from the U.S. Administration. In this case they will be permitted to visit the Nevada test site on the obligatory condition that they participate in a nuclear test.

Both options are unacceptable to us. The whole meaning of our experiment —and its uniqueness, if you like—consists in the fact that we are looking for ways of **verifying the non-testing of nuclear weapons, and do not intend to take part in testing new weapons for the Pentagon.** This stand is shared by our colleagues at the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council, whose members deem it inadmissible for seismologists to take part in nuclear tests.

In short, Washington is resorting to any ploy to prevent the experiment being carried out on U.S. territory.

Could the stand taken by the U.S. Administration frustrate the joint experiment?

Nersesov: The Soviet part of the experiment is going ahead. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences is not going back on its agreement with the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council and, regardless of Washington's stance, the test ban verification work on the Soviet proving ground will continue.

At present American experts and staff members of our institute are working at three specially equipped stations. By mid-October places will be ready for the accommodation of seismometers in

Glotz: It is no secret that the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union hold differing views on many questions. However, there are many points of contact in what concerns the maintenance of peace. There can be no genuine security, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, unless it is equal for all and comprehensive. The idea of universal security has also been formulated by the SDPG. If we are to survive in our nuclear age, we must not arm ourselves for confrontation but disarm under mutual control. We oppose the doctrine of nuclear deterrence which underlies NATO strategy with the concept of universal security.

The Social Democratic Party is conducting a dialogue on security problems with the ruling parties of the Warsaw Treaty states. In particular, jointly with the CPSU, we have set up a working group to discuss possibilities of cutting military expenditure, and we are going to conduct this dialogue in the future as well.

Voigt: We naturally share the opinion expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev that the old notions of war as a means of attaining political objectives have become outdated. In the pre-nuclear age both the victors and the vanquished had a chance of survival in the event of war. In a nuclear conflict there will be neither winners nor losers. There will only be dead on both sides.

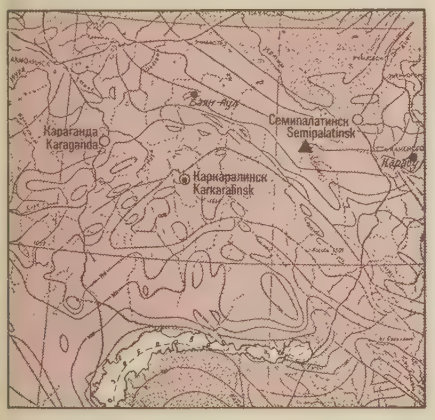
In the Middle Ages, when fist law prevailed, a person upheld his interests by relying on force. In a modern state governed by law, the use of force in relations between individuals is banned. Mankind now has to take another step—to rule out the use or threat of armed force from international relations. The aim of our policy is to establish a world political order under which all conflicts are settled by peaceful means. The concept of mutual security, we believe, will be instrumental in achieving this aim. It provides for greater understanding between nations, phased disarmament, and an alteration of military strategies to make them purely defensive. Everything the other side may regard as a threat should be constantly removed. We must learn to see each other as partners, not opponents.

New Times: At the last congress your party many delegates said t European countries should play a more active part in world politics.

Voigt: The European states should not merely wait for the results of Soviet-American talks. They must energetically defend their interests, and they are interested in the easing of tensions, the promotion of cooperation, and disarmament.

New Times: Johannes Rau, the SDPG candidate for chancellorship, said at the last party congress that a second Soviet-American summit must bring concrete results, for instance, an agreement on the halting of nuclear tests or the dismantling of American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

Glotz: We certainly want concrete results, for otherwise the summit wi be meaningless.



On this map from the U.S. National Resources Defence Council the triangle designates the Soviet test site near Semipalatinsk, the circles, U.S. monitoring equipment stationed there.

wells. This will make it possible to proceed, as early as November, to the next stage of the experiment involving still more accurate instruments, which have almost been prepared by our American colleagues. A group of American geophysicists is to come over and install them in wells.

Why have you agreed to use American equipment?

Gokhberg: This decision was made at a joint meeting of Soviet and American scientists. Using uniform equipment ensures consistent readings, rules out discrepancies, and makes work easier in general all the more so as the sites differ geologically. As a matter of fact, either American or Soviet instruments could be used. Should securing export licences for the installation of American instruments here prove a problem, we shall use Soviet equipment instead.

What results do you expect from the experiment? What is your attitude to scientific contacts with American geophysicists?

Nersesov: A far-flung network of national seismological stations in the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries, plus the possibility of keeping an eye on each other from outer space make for the unerring detection of underground nuclear weapon tests of any yields suitable for defence purposes. The record of this system, built up outside our experiment, proves its efficiency.

At the same time, the study of the background noise around Semipalatinsk will make it possible to verify the observance of the moratorium still more accurately and to record even the lowest-yield explosions under the least favourable geophysical conditions. If the U.S. government provides conditions for participants in the experiment to work near the Nevada test site, this would add greatly to the practical value of this effort.

Gokhberg: Our experiment is also pursuing another, purely political, objective. We want all to see that effective observance of a moratorium is possible and within the powers of scientists in the two countries.

The experiment is of scientific value as well: we expect it to bring geophysical information essential not only to monitoring earthquakes, but also to predicting them. Furthermore, it wi help study high-frequency oscillations which may prove instrumental in detecting weak signals of various origins. This is a new problem in seismology, of interest to seismologists the world over. The study of ground and spatial waves may also have interesting results. Another task is to study the Nevada-Semipalatinsk route, the deep-lying strata of the earth's crust, their structure, specific features and temporal changes. This pa of the experiment calls for observations to be made from both ends—Semipalatinsk and Nevada.

May I stress that seismology is a strictly peaceful science. Our institute is involved in devising mineral prospecting techniques and issues recommendations to construction workers, especially in seismic areas. In short, we have our hands full.

While seismological control remains the most effective means of monitoring nuclear tests, we are compelled to do this job too. Nevertheless, our American colleagues and ourselves are certain that the day is not far off when our equipment installed near nuclear test sites will register nothing other than the earth's natural background noise.

Interviewer E. ANDRIANOV

Six Soviet regiments are shortly to be withdrawn from the D.R.A. Our special correspondent will be covering the withdrawal in Kabul.

Meanwhile the undeclared war against Democratic Afghanistan and against the Afghan people continues. Why? "Are the ranks of armed counterrevolution so numerous?" reader V. Zharov asks. "I would like to know who comprise the dushman bands at present, how they are armed, what their tactics are."

The Dushman Trails

If armed counterrevolution were an internal Afghan phenomenon it would have been defeated long ago. But the undeclared war against Afghanistan enjoys massive external support. The U.S. alone has in recent years given nearly a billion and a half dollars to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. In addition the dushmans get about a billion dollars annually from the F.R.G., Britain, Japan, the governments of some Arab countries and other external forces. According to the British Middle East Economic Digest, Saudi Arabia alone earmarked more than $275 million for them this year. The lion's share of this money goes to buy modern weapons.

The survival of the dushman movement is also due to the fact that its main bases are on the territories of neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, out of reach of the Afghan army. There are hundreds of thousands of so-called Afghan refugees in these countries. An overwhelming majority of them are not committed enemies of the revolution, but people duped by propaganda, or Afghan peasants forcibly driven abroad. They are being made to believe that the only way for them to return to their country is by fighting the D.R.A. government. Even so, the counterrevolutionary chieftains have increasingly to rely on coercive methods in recruiting supporters in order to make up for the losses inflicted on the bandits by the Afghan army.

Structure

The armed forces of counterrevolution are not as numerous as some Western publications claim, obviously repeating the words of publicity-seeking chieftains. The figure of 200,000-300,000 once cited by the British Jane's Defence Weekly is a gross overstatement. The 90,000-120,000 cited by the American Armed Forces Journal International is closer to the truth, although it too is probably exaggerated.

The main battle unit of the dushmans is a group of 10-50 people. Several such groups form units of between 100 and 400 men. A number of units make up a "front" which has a coordinating command. The units and groups have commanders, deputy commanders, chiefs of staff and even such services as reconnaissance, air defence, communications, etc. The officers draw a monthly salary of 350-500 dollars which is no small sum by Afghan standards. Rank-and-file members of the bands are also paid between 100 and 250 dollars, depending on their "length of service." Furthermore, lump sums are paid for carrying out acts of sabotage and terror: 100-150 dollars for killing an Afghan regular soldier, 200-300 dollars for the head of a party activist, 600 dollars for killing an officer, and 2,000 dollars for knocking out a tank. The dushmans often take the ears of their victims to Pakistan as proof that the mission has been fulfilled.

During the trial, in absentia, of seven chieftains of major dushman bands in Kabul last August, it was established that there were several foreign instructors in each unit. There is evidence to show that at least 300 Americans are engaged as military advisers along with officers of the Pakistani, as well as the British, French, Iranian, and Saudi armies.

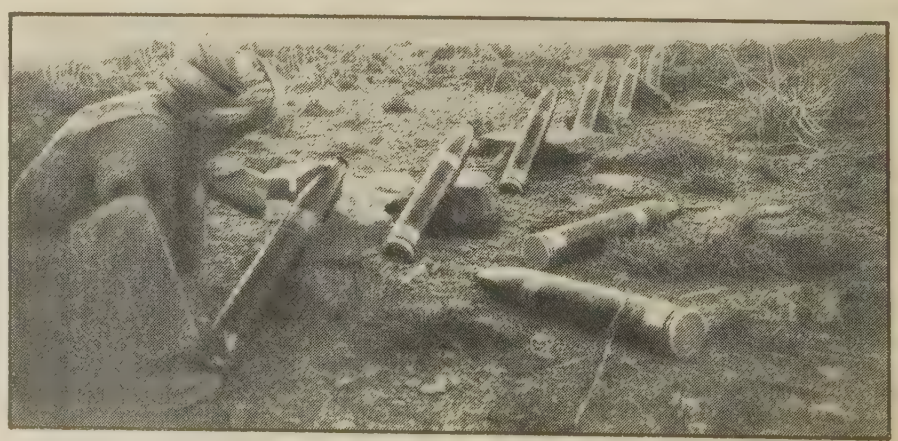
Organizations

Every group, unit or "front" reports to one of the counterrevolutionary organizations headquartered in Peshawar, Pakistan. Such organizations number 50 or more though few of them have real military power. They include the Islamic Party of Afghanistan led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a large group led by Yunus Khalis which has broken away from it, the Islamic Society of Afghanistan led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, the Islamic Revolutionary Movement led by Nabi Mohammadi, the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan led by Sibghatullah Mojadidi, the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan led by Said Ahmed Gilani, and several others. Although their American masters are anxious to achieve unity among these organizations, they are still acutely divided. The divisions stem mainly from rivalry over leadership and securing a bigger share of foreign aid as well as other material considerations.

But not only that. Divisions are also

Arms supplies to Afghan counterrevolutionaries continue.

Photo from L'Express (France)



caused by differing views on the future of Afghanistan and even sometimes class differences. Some groups advocate the creation of an Islamic state modelled on Saudi Arabia or Iran, while others dream of restoring the monarchy. Some parties espouse Pushtu chauvinism, while others try to recruit supporters from among the ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras in Afghanistan. Some are Sunnites, while others are Shiites.

In September, the Washington Post reported another squabble in the dushman camp. It was triggered off by last June's visit to the U.S. of leaders of counterrevolutionary organizations headed by Rabbani. All the others felt they had been cheated of another big slice of aid.

The various "parties" often engage in bloody clashes.

Camps

Military training is also separate for every major dushman "party" or "front." All in all, there are about 150 training centres in Pakistan, Iran and other countries.

A White Book on Pakistan's subversive activities against the Afghan revolution published by the D.R.A. Foreign Ministry contains a detailed list of these centres with a brief description and "party affiliation" for each of them: it has a map showing a dense network of dushman nests stretching along the Pakistani-Afghan border.

Training lasts from two or three weeks to six months. There are centres for basic training, as well as courses to train mortarmen, sappers, anti-aircraft and radio crews. There are special courses which offer training in the handling of chemical weapons and courses for training in acts of sabotage and terror, for example, in Faqirabad, a suburb of Peshawar. There is also a special training programme for commanders of groups and units.

The biggest camps—with the number of trainees ranging from 600 to 2,000—are in the environs of Peshawar (13), Parachinar, Chitral, Chaman, Dir, Quetta, Miram Shah, and Kohat. They are guarded by Pakistani armed units and have a strict system of passes.

There are about a score major dushman arms dumps and dozens of dumps of food and equipment, as well as hospitals along the Pakistan-Afghan border. All these are also controlled by American advisers and Pakistani officers. The Pakistan army is building roads to the Afghan border to facilitate the delivery of weapons to the anti-Afghan bands.

Border

In the early years of the undeclared war, Afghanistan's borders with Pakistan and Iran were virtually unguarded except for a few main checkpoints. There were no border troops. Taking advantage of this, the dushmans crossed the border openly in whole units. Now that the D.R.A. has set up border troops and the protection of the borders is being improved, while hundreds of the mountain paths used by the dushmans to get into Afghanistan have been identified, the counterrevolutionaries have changed their tactics. More and more often the bandits cross the border singly and unarmed, posing as refugees or nomads returning home. They then gather in prearranged places to be sent to rugged mountain areas where arms cachés have been set up for them. It is not easy to set up such a caché as it involves sending a major caravan with weapons into Afghanistan. Sometimes the organizers of the undeclared war are prepared to face heavy losses sending several caravans across the border simultaneously some of which are decoys.

A major stronghold of dushman bases, or rather a network of such bases, was liquidated this year in the course of a massive operation by the Afghan army in the Javara area near the city of Khost (Paktia province bordering on Pakistan). The complex was surrounded by several lines of defences, minefields, and an air-defence system. It comprised 49 dumps of weapons, ammunition, clothes and food, a training centre, an ammunition factory, and workshops for the manufacture of small arms and vehicles repairs.

Weapons

The arms seized in Javara give an idea of how the dushman bands are equipped today. Their small arms range from old British rifles to modern submachine guns, hand anti-tank grenade throwers, minethrowers of various sizes, large-calibre anti-aircraft machine guns, quickfiring Erlicon guns, and British-made Javelin anti-aircraft rockets. They have large numbers of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines. The dushmans pin great hopes on mine warfare on the country's roads to disrupt passenger and freight traffic. The bandits also have chemical weapons. They first used chemical grenades with U.S.-made CS gas in the spring of 1980 in Herat province. And recently, Afghan soldiers seized large quantities of British-made chemical mines and grenades during an operation in the provinces of Wardak, Kabul and Loghar.

In general, Afghan counterrevolutionaries have recently been getting more modern Western-made weapons, including the above-mentioned Erlicons, portable ground-to-ground rocket launchers (used in the shelling of living quarters

in Kabul in the autumn of 1984), and even the latest U.S.-made Stinger anti-aircraft rockets. Jane's Defence Weekly recently reported that the dushmans were getting still more sophisticated British Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles through intermediaries [apparently a CIA-owned front company—E.K.].

Tactics

The dushmans' tactics have also evolved over the years. They now normally avoid direct engagement with major units of the Afghan army and people's militia. After committing an

act of sabotage or a series of terrorist acts they hide their weapons, withdraw to the mountains, mix with the local population in order to return to Pakistan singly and unarmed.

In an attempt to disrupt peaceful life in the country, the dushmans blow up bridges, power and telephone lines, attack lorries and buses, plant bombs in crowded places and factories, burn crops, drive away cattle, and raid the homes of ordinary peasants. According to the handbook "150 Questions and Answers for a Guerrilla Fighter" published by Rabbani's Islamic Society of Afghanistan, targets for sabotage include "hospitals, schools and canteens which are poorly guarded, and whose personnel cannot offer strong resistance." As a rule, they act at night.

Armed counterrevolutionaries have recently suffered a series of military and political setbacks in various parts of Afghanistan. For example, the "front" commanded by Ahmed Shah Masud has practically lost its former control of the Pandjshir valley. In the past few months alone several thousand armed bandits decided to avail themselves of the amnesty proclaimed by the Revolutionary Council of the D.R.A. for all who voluntarily lay down arms. They surrendered to government troops.

Yet, in spite of all this the counterrevolution is still strong militarily because it continues to enjoy the military and financial backing of the U.S. and other Western countries. This puts a serious obstacle in the way of a political settlement of the Afghan issue, to which these countries pay lip service. The U.S.S.R. and the D.R.A. in deciding —in the interests of an early settlement —to pull out six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan before the end of 1986, made it clear that this was only a first step. Whether further steps will be taken depends on the response of the U.S. and Pakistan. The response ought to consist in curtailing and stopping armed interference in the country's internal affairs. Failing that, it is equally clear that the Soviet Union would not abandon Democratic Afghanistan.

E. KISELYOV

A Landing Operation on the Kurils

is suggested by the authors of articles published in a recent issue of Gunji Kenkyu (Military Review), journal of the Japanese Defence Agency

The collection of articles in Gunji Kenkyu had the general heading "We Must Recover the Northern Territories!" (the "northern territories" in Tokyo's parlance are the South Kuril islands which belong to the Soviet Union). The Gunji Kenkyu editors made the pages of their magazine available to revanchists, who are pinning their hopes on strength. "The territories lost in war cannot be recovered by talks at the negotiating table," one of the articles says. "Only when there is the real armed force to get the islands back and readiness to bring it into play will the partner enter talks on their transfer."

Such statements effectively override the Constitution, which formalized Japan's renunciation of war "for all time." It is the government's duty to train an army to conquer Soviet territory, Gunji Kenkyu says. The building of a strike force capable of "regaining the northern territories for Japan" is a guarantee of the inculcation of "a strong spirit in the men of the Japanese army."

The authors do not hesitate to point out that the Japanese army has always been famous for its ability to launch surprise attacks. In building a strike force, it is therefore necessary to adopt a strategy and tactics congruous with the "national character."

Plans to build up a Japanese multitask force, along the lines of the U.S. rapid deployment force, are revealed in 24 pages of condensed text. The capture of the Kurils is to proceed as follows: a blitzkrieg storming of the islands, subsequent entrenchment and an appeal for an international conference to decide jurisdiction over the Kuril chain. Is this scenario science fiction? Yes and no. It appears that the plans outlined in Gunji Kenkyu are directly connected with the programme for the buildup of self-defence forces.

Let us take a closer look at them.

The operational plans to capture the "northern territories" are to start with the restructuring of the supreme bodies of military leadership, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Defence Council. The commanders of the three services are to be coopted into the latter (this reorganization is already under way in Tokyo: a Council on National Security Problems has been established with broader powers, as in the U.S.). The multitask force should be placed under naval command because it is the navy that will bear the brunt of the operation.

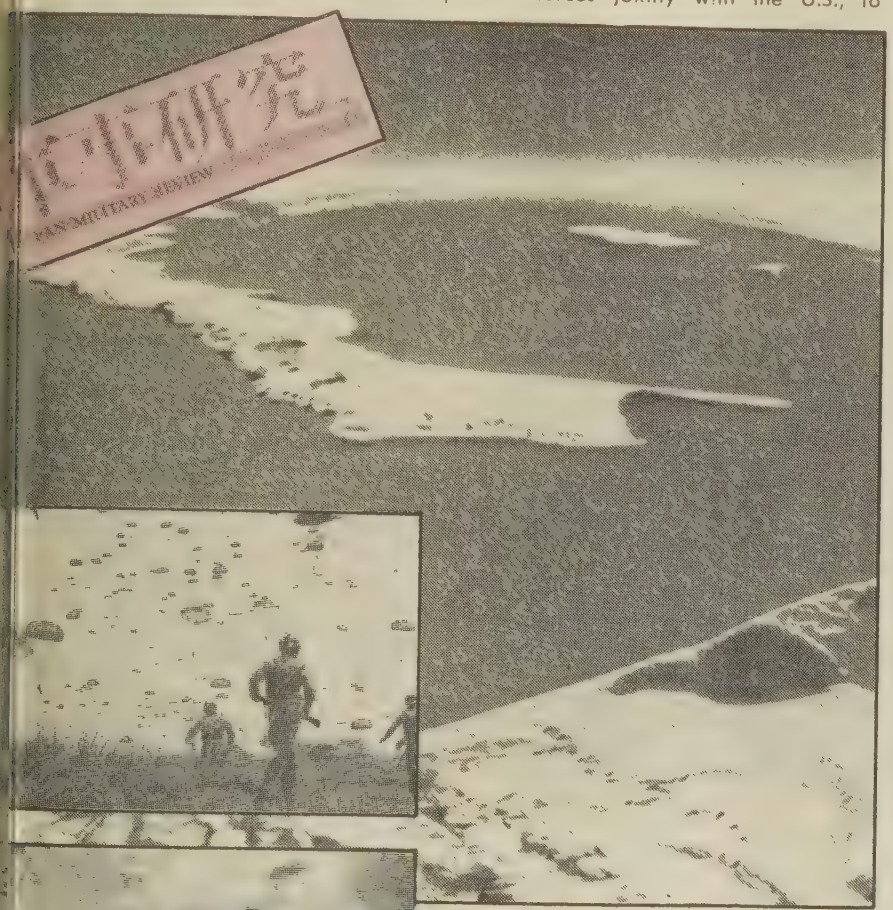
The Gunji Kenkyu strategists believe that an assault group comprising two and a half divisions or an army corps should be established to supplement regular forces in the capture of the "northern territories." It should include a marine division capable of operating both on land and at sea, an armoured division and an airborne brigade. The armed forces currently stationed on Hokkaido and consisting of four divisions, one of them armoured, will not be depleted: the strike group will be formed from troops redeployed to the north from other parts of the country.

The 13th division will be moved to Hokkaido from Kaitacho, near Hiroshima. The division is believed to have inherited "the best combat traditions" of the former 5th division of the imperial army and has been well trained in landing operations.

Is the viewpoint of the Gunji Kenkyu authors their own? Or do they speak for the Defence Agency, which publishes the journal?

What strikes the eye are the parallels between the plans devised by the authors and the practical measures taken by the Defence Agency.

The Agency has set about drawing up a long-term plan for the building of the self-defence forces up to the year 2000 with the aim of substantially reinforcing the troops stationed on Hokkaido and in the northeast of Honshu Island. The numerical strength of the land army alone is to reach 80,000 and



"Drilling the army for the seizure of Soviet territories is a must for the government," the revanchists scream in the Gunji Kenkyu.

an "emergency" in the Far East the land forces in the north of Japan will be augmented to 110,000.

These figures show that the self-defence forces are intended for anything but the defence of the country. A potential for offensive operations has been created and is going to be increased from year to year, all on the pretext of a "Soviet military threat."

The goals of the military buildup in close proximity to the Soviet Union's Far Eastern border are quite clear, just as are the goals of unprecedented plans, drawn up by the staff of Japan's land forces jointly with the U.S., to blockade the international straits of La Perouse, Tsugaru and Tsushima. The purpose of these plans is to prevent the Soviet Pacific Fleet from sailing onto the high seas.

The Defence Agency's plans are dovetailed with the Pentagon's strategy in Asia and the Pacific. The article "U.S. Strategy and the Northern Territories" in the same issue of the magazine has thrown new light on these plans. Its author doubts Japan's ability to capture the islands single-handed and conceives the operation in the context of a world war, when "America, pursuing its attack strategy in the Western Pacific, will give immediate backing to Japan." The Japanese army will be given support "by the massive suppression of Soviet missile bases and total dominance on the sea and in the air on the close approaches to Japan."

Washington, the author continues, is prepared to commit its entire combat potential in the Pacific close to Soviet Far Eastern shores, namely, the troops stationed in South Korea and Hawaii, the marines deployed on Okinawa, two tactical air armies (in Japan, South Korea and the Philippines), which have a total of 240 F-16 nuclear-capable fighter bombers, and two strategic wings of B-52 long-range bombers (on Okinawa and Guam). The U.S. Seventh Fleet, based in Japan, has three aircraft carriers, 20 atomic-powered submarines and more than 70 warships of other classes.

As soon as hostilities break out, the self-defence forces are to be put under the "joint command staff" led by the U.S. admiral who commands the U.S. forces in the Pacific.

The Japanese revanchists are hoping for Washington's support—and, it seems, not without grounds.

The magazine describes at length the weaponry of the "multitask force," primarily transportation and landing means needed quickly to take the strike grouping to the Kurils.

One of the authors, symptomatically, says that no new arms development programmes or large additional arms purchases will be needed for an assault group if the targets of the current self-defence forces buildup plan for 1986-90 are met.

A surprise operation to seize the Kuril Islands, according to the author, will call for additional 20 large ships to carry the strike group in two waves. The air force grouping will have to include F-15 fighters to secure dominance in the air, attack planes, bombers, E-2C early warning and AWACS planes. The self-defence forces either already have all this weaponry or will be getting it in the near future.

The collection of articles in Gunji Kenkyu gives an idea of the Japanese leaders' plans for a major arms buildup. It shows that Tokyo today is circumventing the basic laws and principles of Japanese military policy, which have so far been guides of its foreign policy (such as Article 9 of the Constitution), and encouraging revanchist sentiments.

V. BUNIN

How the Alfonsin government is tackling the difficult problems it has inherited

After the Winter of Dictatorship

In Buenos Aires October is, perhaps, the best month of the year, with a rainy and windy winter gone, and a broiling smoggy summer still on its way. The sun is mercifully gentle so far.

It was exactly in the spring month of October that the political climate in Argentina began to change three years ago. Following eight years of military dictatorship, general presidential, parliamentary and local government elections were held in Argentina in October 1983. As a result, the Radical Civil Union party entered upon office with its leader Raul Alfonsin becoming the head of state and government.

Nightmare Over

Argentina, like almost any other Latin American republic for that matter, has had more than its share of military regimes. Coups d'état involving the army occurred five times there over the past fifty years, and generals ruled the country for a total of 22 years. However, the latest military dictatorship (1976-83) stood out for an especially ruthless suppression of discontent in whatever form.

I happened to get to Argentina when the dictatorship was breathing its last, with general elections in the offing. Political parties were all but legalized. The trade unions emerged from the underground. The previously banned newspapers and magazines were back in circulation. Mass meetings and manifestations swept the country. Nevertheless, the overall atmosphere remained oppressive. Fear kept its grip on the people: many of those I met with simply did not believe that the generals had left the political scene, and were afraid they'd stage a comeback.

While in power, the military made short work of anyone they considered a dissident. At the end of 1984 and early in 1985 hardly a day passed without the papers reporting on more graves of repression victims found. National television conducted live transmissions from the places where these anonymous graves had been detected. Official statistics, now made public, put the number of those "missing"—i.e., murdered and tortured to death over the years of military dictatorship—at nearly 9,000. Thousands of Argentinians went through arrests, tortures and years in jail. About a million were blacklisted. Hundreds of thousands of people fled the terror-reigned country.

Having taken over as President, Raul Alfonsin got down to eliminating the sad heritage of the military regime. At his first press conference in February 1984 the President told local and foreign newsmen who had gathered in the Blue Hall of the Casa Rosada, the seat of government, that he would spare no effort to restore the democratic liberties trampled underfoot by the military. Those guilty will undergo well-deserved punishment, he reassured his audience.

Steps Towards Democratization

The President has lived up to his promises. All the bans imposed by the military—including that on the Communist Party of Argentina—have long been lifted. The blacklists have been destroyed and press censorship abolished. Prominent politicians, writers, journalists and artists have returned home and come back to active life after years of exile. What's very important, Raul Alfonsin had legal proceedings instituted against a group of generals and admirals—members of the military juntas who reigned over Argentina for eight years. It took extraordinary civil courage to order, within only three days of taking up the president's post, the arrest of the nine leading members of the triumvirates previously in power.

Without a doubt, this trial, which had the support of the entire nation, contributed to consolidating democracy in Argentina. Its importance transcends the confines of that particular country and even those of the whole continent.

In the dock at the Palace of Justice on the capital's Lavalle Square were not only the generals who had committed crimes against their people, but also the "national security doctrine" or the "internal war" theory which the Argentinian top brass followed together with the North American Big Brother (like their Uruguayan counterparts did until recently, and like those in Chile and Paraguay still do). According to this doctrine, the armed forces are called upon not so much to repel outside aggression as to fight the "internal enemy," i.e., left-wing, progressive democratic elements and organizations.

Economic Problems

The military bequeathed to the civil authorities a national economy which had been practically ruined—again, not without the U.S. help. The dictatorial regime actively pursued the policy of denationalization with the resulting concentration of economic power in the hands of a small group closely linked up with transnational corporations. Massive financial swindles became common practice. The country ran headlong into foreign debt, which amounted to $43 billion in 1983, when the country returned to constitutional rule, as against less than eight billion dollars in 1976, on the eve of the military coup—a 5.5-time increase! Only a fraction of this money went into the development of the national economy, however. A lion's share of the credits was pocketed by the top brass.

Far from developing, Argentina's national economy began to decline. The army of the unemployed kept growing as a consequence, and inflation reached an all-time high: at times it ran at a monthly rate of 700 per cent.

The Alfonsin cabinet set itself the task of putting an early end to the crisis and laying the foundations for dynamic economic growth. The Austral financial programme was launched in June 1985 as part of this effort. Under the programme, the peso, the exchange rate of which had plummeted, was replaced by a new monetary unit—the austral (meaning "southern") equivalent to a thousand old pesos. Wages and prices were frozen, and government spending (including that on certain social welfare programmes) slashed. Bank interest rates were reduced in order to stimulate private enterprise.

The measures taken by the government had a certain effect at first. In particular, the rate of inflation was forced down to a few per cent a month, thus stabilizing the exchange rate of the national currency. However, this was achieved at the expense of the working people whose real incomes, according to trade union estimates, went down to about two thirds because prices are rising all the same. The situation is made worse still by the fact that about two million Argentinians are fully or partially jobless and, consequently, live from hand to mouth. Signs appeared of late that the Austral plan is losing momentum: the inflation index which reflects the overall state of the national economy has resumed its upward climb over the past few months.

For all these reasons the Austral has not met with unqualified support on the part of the broad sections of the working people, trade unions and left-wing parties, the Communists included. They insist that the government should take a more principled stand, called for by Argentina's national interests, on the issue of the foreign debt which has already exceeded $50 billion, that it should stop doing the IMF's bidding. The Argentinians' discontent took the form of national strikes held under the slogans "The foreign debt is not to be repaid!", "No concessions to the transnationals." The opposition holds that the as yet fragile democracy is jeopardized not by the workers' upholding their rights but by imperialist pressure from without and by stepped-up sallies of reactionary forces at home.

Dante Caputo, Argentina's Minister of Foreign Affairs, said at one time that when a country's foreign debt exceeds two thirds of the gross national product cost it ceases to be a purely financial problem and becomes a political one. Argentinians came to know this from their own bitter experience. Argentina's foreign debt is now seven times the worth of its annual export. Interest payments alone devour three fifths of annual export earnings.

On the International Arena

Taking advantage of the extremely complicated situation Argentina has found itself in, Washington is trying to dictate to it—both directly and through the International Monetary Fund it controls. The White House is out to impede the democratic process in the country, to weaken the positions of the Alfonsin government whose independent foreign policy does not suit Washington.

Argentina's declarations for a peaceful settlement in Central America, its condemnation of the unceasing U.S. aggression against independent Nicaragua, the efforts made by Raul Alfonsin within the framework of the Delhi Six towards an end to the nuclear arms race and an immediate ban on all nuclear tests—all this has won broad recognition in and outside Latin America. Quite recently Argentina and other participants of the Delhi Six reaffirmed their stand on the issues of war and peace in Ixtapa, Mexico, and reiterated it at the non-aligned summit in Harare.

Argentinians support their government's line of promoting multiple friendly links with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. President Raul Alfonsin's official visit to the U.S.S.R., scheduled for mid-October, will largely contribute to this.

The Alfonsin government's independent policy, its active participation in the Latin American Contadora support group and its contribution to the work of the Delhi Six irritate the White House.

Robert Gelbard, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, paid a visit to Buenos Aires recently. In his talks with Argentinian government officials he made no secret of Washington's displeasure over Argentina being opposed to its actions as regards Nicaragua. According to the newspaper La Razon, the American visitor didn't mince his words and spoke with his Argentinian hosts in a tone which set off a verbal storm the rumble of which could be plainly heard in the adjacent offices. He voiced his indignation over the Argentinian parliament's discussing a resolution condemning the U.S. $100-million shot in the arm for the Nicaraguan contras. This is just one example of Washington's unceremonious interference in the affairs of Argentina.

A street scene in downtown Buenos Aires.

Lehtikuva—TASS photo

On September 6, Argentinians celebrated an unusual jubilee—one thousand days of the Alfonsin government. An impressive progress has been made along the road to transformation, but there still remains much to be done, especially in the economic sphere.

A. MEDVEDENKO

Buenos Aires—Moscow

The buccaneers of past centuries could only envy the booty captured in the America of the 1980s by

The Stock Exchange Pirates

VLADIMIR KASHIN

"Run for safety! Pirates!" These pirates operate not on the high seas but at the stock exchanges. Their victims are not passengers of ocean-going liners but big companies. Their equipment has changed accordingly: personal computers that "select" the next victim and bank credits to put a financial noose on the victim. The luckiest buccaneers in history can only envy the booty of the stock exchange pirates because it amounts to hundreds of millions and sometimes even billions of dollars.

When Managers Pale

Nobody had even heard about stock exchange pirates some five-ten years ago. But today even the most hard-bitten businessmen pale on hearing the names of Saul Steinberg, Victor Posner, Carl Icahn, Herbert Siegel, Boone Pickens and the Belzberg brothers. A poll conducted by the American Fortune magazine shows that the managers of almost a half of the biggest corporations in the United States are afraid of the stock exchange pirates.

How do the stock exchange pirates, or "company hunters" as they are also called, operate? Outwardly, everything is quite traditional. Roughly in the same way as Frank Cowperwood, a character from Theodore Dreiser's book "The Financier," operated late in the 19th century. They buy on the stock exchange a certain amount of shares of the chosen company and then offer the shareholders to sell their shares at a price substantially higher than the quoted one. At first glance this does not make any sense: to overpay for the shares and deliberately to sustain losses.... This is a premature conclusion.

The matter is that the pirate chooses a company whose shares for some reason are understated at the exchange. On gaining the controlling interest for a price exceeding the market one the pirate plans to get his hands on the real assets which not only will compensate his expenditures but also turn in a handsome profit. Such companies are found most often among the big corporations. For instance, oil concerns often play down the value of their oil and gas deposits so as to pay less taxes and plead benefits and subsidies from the government. Other firms clandestinely accumulate big reserves and understate the value of their assets in order to pay smaller dividends to shareholders.

Of course, such firms are not easy prey. Along with the principal shareholders their managers skilfully protect their assets from stock exchange speculators. Moreover, since on learning about the pirate's intentions the managers are likely to jack up the price of shares, the very idea of the raid appears to become absurd. But that is not so. On buying up a certain amount of shares (usually three-five per cent) the pirate becomes a major shareholder and under the law of stock exchange operations gets the right to ask other shareholders and managers of the firm to sell him their shares, but already with an addition to the market price that he names himself.

Playing the stock exchange is based on the price difference between the sale or purchase of shares for a certain period of time. When playing the downward trend the speculator hopes that the price of shares will fall and he will buy them cheaply and then sell them with a profit when the price goes up again. Conversely, when the speculator banks on the growth of prices he makes his profit on the difference between what he had paid for the shares and their higher price. Such speculators, even when they have a bank credit, operate at their own risk and in the event of failure can lose all they have.

But the present-day stock exchange pirates not only use for their speculations the savings of other people in the form of credits but also make the banks and their depositors shoulder the entire risk of the stock exchange speculations. Because the property and shares of their chosen victim serve as security for the money borrowed by them. Should there be an unfavourable turn of events the pirate can simply stop his efforts to capture a firm and leave with the bank the shares that were purchased on the bank's money.

In recent times the stock exchange pirates have learned to avoid even this risk. Now they operate on the stock exchange not by themselves but through joint stock companies created by them for the purpose of such operations. In the event of failure the pirate's personal property remains unassailable and he only risks the controlling interest of the company which he had set up. Quite often it is this company that pays with its shares for the entire operation. This lessens the risk also for the bank because in such a deal it serves only as a guarantor during the exchange of shares of one company for those of another. Sometimes the pirates do without any help of banks. Financial backing is given them by investment and broker firms from the so-called secondary market of securities in which promissory notes and other liabilities of big companies circulate. So doubly fictitious capital is thus used as financial backing.

No Tears Shed over a Setback

Who stands to lose if the stock exchange pirates, the banks and broker firms financing them invariably emerge with a profit? Usually the losers are the shareholders of the absorbed companies. But of course it is the wage and salary workers who suffer most. If the new owners sell the company piecemeal a large number of its employees lose their jobs. The same happens during the so-called rationalization of production in the newly purchased company (that is what the press baron Rupert Murdoch did to the London printers). Last but not least, the very need to repay loans accrued in the process of seizing the company forces the new owners to cut wages and sever collective agreements with trade unions.

What does such an operation yield? Let us begin with "failures." The professional stock exchange pirate Herbert Siegel made two consecutive attempts to take over two major film companies—Paramount and Twentieth Century Fox. He failed on both occasions. But the "collapse" of the first venture brought him a net profit of $2.5 million, while the "setback" in the second was compensated by a profit of $100 million. Another "failure," Saul Steinberg, began to "stalk" the Walt Disney Productions concern. After besieging it for three months he gave up the idea but made $59 million to "console" himself with.

But what if the raid is a success and

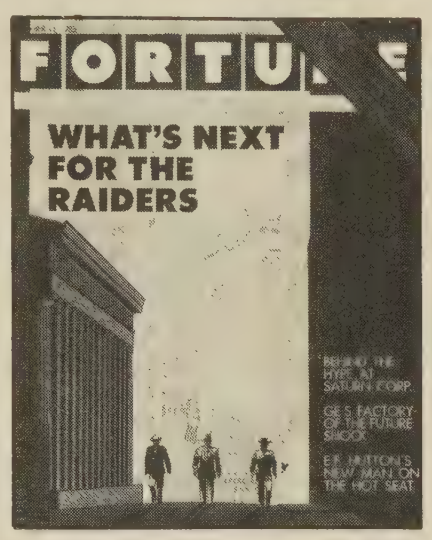
the company is seized? Then everything happens in accordance with the old traditions of piracy: the captured captains (managers) are thrown overboard while the cargo (the assets of the seized company) is sorted according to its value. The least valuable is sold off to cover the cost of the raid, while the most valuable booty goes into the pirate's coffers. Stock exchange takeovers yield fabulous profits. Boone Pickens, one of the most successful pirates from Texas, amassed a personal wealth of hundreds of millions of dollars within some ten years, stripping in the process such tycoons of the oil business as Gulf Oil, Cities Service and Superior Oil. Now he is seriously setting his sights at U.S. Steel, this supergiant in metallurgy.

Early in the 1980s the Belzberg brothers from Canada took part in the attempt by the inheritors of the Hunt financial empire to corner the capitalist world's silver market. In 1984 they joined Pickens in laying siege of Gulf Oil and made a handsome profit. Now the robber brothers are buying up companies lock, stock and barrel. The assets controlled by them are already estimated at $5 billion. Their latest action in April 1986 was the raid on Ashland Oil, a big American oil-refining company. The Belzbergs invested $1.8 billion in it but the company mobilized all its resources (even state legislation was amended) and paid them off with $15.4 million.

On a Financial Leash

So new "titans" of business have emerged. Are they not crowding the old financial and industrial tycoons, are they not threatening the monopoly establishment? By no means. The appearance of the stock exchange pirates is a result of sharper inter-monopoly competition. Standing behind each pirate are a certain financial-industrial groups and the banks servicing them. They need the pirates if only because they do not allow business to become complacent and force company managers to go all out to increase profits and raise the value of their companies' shares. Besides, the pirates make their huge fortunes at the expense of rank-and-file shareholders and not of the monopolists. The latter are among those who profit from the hunt for companies. The bankers who subsidize this hunt get interest for their credits. The broker firms earn tens of millions of dollars by offering advice when the victim is being selected and providing legal services during the consummation of the deal.

There is yet another reason that makes the seizure of big firms easier. I refer to the changes in the structure of monopoly power. There was a time when a financial or industrial tycoon owned 50, 70 and more per cent of his company's shares. Today he usually owns not more than 3-5 per cent. More than that, these shares are not even his personal property. They are for the most part placed in family trusts, this meaning that they are earmarked for transition to inheritors and are managed by authorized persons. Another category of shares is handed over into family charity foundations. Ostensibly the monopolists lose all title to these shares but by appointing managers of such foundations the monopolists continue to control their shares and extract huge profits that are exempt from taxation. According to some estimates, up to two thirds of monopoly capital in the United States are controlled precisely through these two forms of ownership and only one



Pirates of the stone jungle.
Front cover of Fortune (U.S.A.)

third is in private ownership. In addition to this, through their "own" banks, investment companies and foundations that accept authorized management of deposits and shares of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the monopolists retain control over a huge mass of money (for example, up to a third of all joint stock capital in the United States is concentrated in privately-operated pension schemes).

It is the complexity and intertwining of interests of various monopoly groupings in this system of control over capital that enable "outsiders," in particular the stock exchange pirates, to infiltrate it. At times they clash with individual monopolists and even win such encounters. But this is only what one sees on the surface. In reality, every such "personal" success is actually a victory of one monopoly grouping over another, while the pirate is only a pliant tool in their clash. If he starts making a nuisance of himself he is quickly brought in line by threats of discontinued credit. The financial leash is held quite firmly.

A Huge Swindle

Hunting companies is an old method of building financial empires. It was in this way that John Rockefeller Sr. created his family business at the dawn of this century when he bought up companies belonging to his rivals by the dozen. In Germany, Friedrich Flick was a wizard of financial machinations. The concentration of monopoly capital reached a new peak in the early 1980s, adding a new dimension to company takeovers.

The boom of mergers and takeovers is taking place exactly among the "mammoths of business," as the leading corporations are called. The Chevron Oil concern bought Gulf Oil for $13.3 billion. Texaco paid Paul Getty's heirs $10.2 billion for his "family" company Getty Oil. It took Mobil Oil $5.7 billion to absorb Superior Oil. General Motors spent $5 billion to take over the Hughes Aircraft Company, a military-industrial concern, and so on. Whereas in 1980 there were 1,889 mergers and takeovers in the United States (involving a total sum of $44.3 billion), the corresponding figures for 1985 were already 3,000 and $180 billion.

In the F.R.G. the Deutsche Bank monopoly group took over the Flick concern (with assets in excess of five billion marks) and the Springer newspaper empire. The Swiss transnational concern Nestle (it buys up some 10 per cent of the annual world cocoa and coffee harvest) purchased the American Carnation company for $3 billion. The De Benedetti group in Italy bought the French industrial company Valeo.

The classics of Marxism regarded stock exchange operations as an extreme manifestation of capitalist gain when ownership directly turns into theft. Formally representatives of all classes and sections of society can possess shares and buy and sell them for profit. But this formal equality means for some freedom to engage in runaway speculation and to deceive the public and for others freedom to be robbed while bearing the honourable title of shareholder, a small owner of capital.

Modern big business has lost most of its former role of "commander of production." Having delegated this function to hired managers, the monopoly clans make profits estimated in billions by merging, taking over and reorganizing companies. They are becoming parasites of society without any whatsoever functions in the sphere of production. Exploitation of the labour of others remains the main feature of the present capitalist system of production. But at the stage of the distribution and acquisition of the social wealth produced by working people the capitalist economy is increasingly transforming into a system of one huge swindle. ■

Under the Polestar

Spitsbergen—land washed by Arctic seas

A documentary on Arctic wildlife, featuring the Polar bear, was shown in the social centre in Barentsburg, a Soviet miners' township on Spitsbergen. "Don't leave," a projectionist said after the showing. "The bear's at the door." The audience took it for a joke and cheerfully made for the exit. But the bear was there. So much for one of the many "bear stories" I have heard on this archipelago under the Great Bear constellation.

Glimpses of History

Spitsbergen was first mentioned eight centuries ago in Russian chronicles and Scandinavian sagas, which spoke of remote frost-bound lands of ice and rock enveloped in darkness, where human life was impossible.

Seafarers of the Russian north must have been the first to visit the archipelago. In 1493 Nuremberg scholar Jeronim Münzer reported to the Portuguese king that the subjects of the Grand Prince of Muscovy, Basil III, had discovered the large island of Grumant in the austere northern regions. The difficulties of navigation to this inhospitable land, stories of the fabulous natural riches it abounded in—whales, fish and game—were passed from father to son on the White Sea coast. Whaling was a lucrative business then, and fleets of greedy Dutch, British, German, Danish and French whalers came to Grumant. Not infrequently armed clashes over the spoils flared up.

For all that, they did not venture to winter on Grumant and when, by the middle of the 18th century, valuable species of whale had been exterminated, they virtually ceased to visit Spitsbergen, as the archipelago came to be known at the end of the 16th century. But Russians always went there to winter and sometimes lived on Spitsbergen for years, even decades.

For many a daring Arctic explorer—Nordenskiöld, Nansen, Amundsen, Nobile—Spitsbergen was a base for bids to reach the North Pole and the Bering Strait.

Nils Nordenskiöld went to Spitsbergen five times. The archipelago's biggest glacier now bears his name. Incidentally, the life and work of this outstanding scientist were closely linked with Russia. The high point of his joint work with our compatriots was the famous international expedition at the turn of the century, the Russo-Swedish expedition to map Spitsbergen.

Soviet scientists also contributed to exploring the archipelago. In 1921 Lenin signed a decree on the establishment of a floating marine research institute, whose task in particular was to explore the Arctic. In the same year the first polar expedition under Professor Ivan Mesyatsev set out for the Arctic Ocean. A specially equipped ship was built for scientific research in various fields. It was named the Perseus and was the pioneer of the Soviet research fleet. The Perseus visited Spitsbergen nine times.

The Archipelago's Status

The record of the discovery, exploration and economic development of Spitsbergen to a large extent determined the archipelago's international legal status. For centuries Spitsbergen remained "no man's land," and nationals of all countries were free to use its resources. In 1920 representatives of the U.S., Britain and its dominions, France, Italy, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden signed a treaty in Paris which recognized Norwegian sovereignty over Spitsbergen. At the same time nationals of all signatories to the treaty were entitled to free access to the waters, fjords and ports of Spitsbergen, to industrial and trade operations, hunting and fishing on equal terms with the Norwegians. Norway also undertook not to build naval bases or fortifications there.

The mining charter regulating the prospecting, acquisition and exploitation of deposits of oil, coal and other raw materials, has been incorporated in the Paris Treaty.

The Soviet Union recognized Norwegian sovereignty over Spitsbergen when diplomatic relations between our countries were established in 1924, and in 1935 it officially joined the Paris Treaty.

Before the war with nazi Germany, three coal mines of the Soviet Arcticugol trust operated on Spitsbergen—Barentsburg, Grumant and Piramida. The last Soviet steamship with Spitsbergen coal set out to sea on June 22, 1941, the day Germany attacked the Soviet Union.

On the archipelago, just as on the

mainland, Soviet and Norwegian patriots inscribed glorious pages in the annals of the joint struggle against the nazis. In the world's northernmost local museum I was shown photographs of Soviet Barentsburg and Grumant and the Norwegian Longyear and Sveagruve townships, razed to the ground by nazi Tirpitz and Scharnhorst battleships. Today obelisks erected in honour of the Soviet and Norwegian soldiers who fell in battle against the nazis remind us of the tragic past.

Arcticugol Mines

After the war ended Soviet mines on Spitsbergen were restored as quickly as possible. In 1947 the first shiploads of coal left the jetties of the Piramida mine, and a year later, Barentsburg and Grumant mines were put into operation.

Barentsburg, situated on the steep shores of Green Harbour, is the centre of Soviet coalmining on Spitsbergen. Over a thousand miners from all over the Soviet Union work in the rigorous natural conditions of the high altitudes.

On the outskirts of the township are a radio and a meteorological station, and not far off, an observatory and the Arcticugol geological prospecting team. A 7,500 kw heat and power plant supplies Barentsburg with electricity. A social centre with a magnificent library has been built for the miners, and amateur performances draw responsive audiences not only in the Soviet townships of Piramida and Barentsburg but also in Norwegian Longyear. Vocal, choral, variety, drama and dancing groups as well as a Russian folk orchestra and a brass band are very popular. There is even a ballet studio. Incidentally, it is here that Maya Plisetskaya started her career.

Side by Side

Winter on Spitsbergen is nine months long, the polar night lasts four months, and heating is needed all year round. Nevertheless, the sports grounds of the miners' settlements and the Yuri Gagarin stadium are never empty. The local branch of the Trud sports society has some 500 members. Competitions with the Norwegian Svalbard Turn club in skiing, volleyball, shooting and tennis have become traditional. Football games arouse a most lively interest. Everybody here, from the Soviet consul and the Norwegian governor to schoolchildren, are ardent football fans, with Norwegians cheering their team on with the Russian "Davai, davai" and Russians, with the Norwegian "Heia, heia."

Russian is very popular here. Both adults and children study it in Longyear. Last spring four Spitsbergen schoolchildren toured our country for the first time. They visited Moscow, Bukhara and the Caucasus.

Working side by side, Norwegians and Russians on Spitsbergen have long refuted the ancient sagas which said that man could not live here. Good-neighbourliness and cooperation are an imperative in this rigorous climate, and indeed, Norwegian and Soviet specialists have friendly relations of many years' standing. More than once they have lent each other a helping hand both in prewar years and during the restoration of the demolished mines. This holds true today as well.

For ten years Norwegians and Russians have used the civilian air terminal in Longyear. Aeroflot has its northernmost agency here. A regular 2,960 km air line links Spitsbergen reliably with Moscow.

The political climate on Spitsbergen is stable and not subject to the tribulations besetting other regions of the planet. In Norway I heard this opinion voiced repeatedly and at various levels. Recently Mr Eldring, appointed governor of Spitsbergen for a second term, reaffirmed this in the interview he gave to the local Svalbardposten on his return to Spitsbergen.

Interview in the "Polar Kitchen"

At Government House in Oslo I had a talk with Mr Ostgard, head of the polar department, which the local press calls "the polar kitchen of Norway's national policy."

"Cooperation and contacts between Soviet and Norwegian authorities are truly good-neighbourly," Mr Ostgard told me. "Regular meetings and contacts between officials as well as between Norwegian and Soviet miners are evidence of this. For my part, I have visited Barentsburg and Piramida on several occasions, and our department has close business ties with the Soviet consulate in Barentsburg."

"What are the problems you have to cope with on Spitsbergen?"

"These are above all the problems involved in prospecting for raw materials, primarily oil. Sometimes foreign, and Norwegian, companies ignore the environment protection regulations. In this respect, the Soviet side is beyond reproach. This also applies to the prospecting Arcticugol is carrying out in Vassdalen Valley.

"Of late, more and more tourists are coming to Spitsbergen, and occasionally damage is done to nature and cultural monuments and the tombs of Spitsbergen pioneers, especially on the most popular trekking paths.

"As for Norwegian-Soviet cooperation on the archipelago, I can only say that all questions are resolved in a friendly atmosphere, and, to my mind, there are no problems here, let alone insoluble ones."

Georgi Ivanov, deputy technical director of the Arcticugol trust, whom your correspondent contacted by phone, holds the same view.

"We are doing our best to maintain and develop cooperation with our Norwegian partners," he says. "Our trust has fruitful business ties not only with the governor of Spitsbergen and his departments, but with the Norwegian Ministry for Petroleum and Energy. Soviet and Norwegian oilmen have already sunk two wells jointly. We also cooperate actively with the Ministry for Environment and with the Norwegian mining inspector on Spitsbergen."

"What concrete instances can you cite of Soviet-Norwegian cooperation on Spitsbergen?"

"There are plenty. Take the freshwater pipeline, a unique project built jointly with a Norwegian firm several years ago. A glacier lake, the source of fresh water for Barentsburg, and the township are situated on opposite shores of the fjord, quite a distance because of the indented coastline. The pipeline was laid on the bottom of the fjord at a depth of 150 metres, which made it only eight kilometres long."

Of course, he added, difficulties do arise from time to time, there is no denying it. But we can settle them—we share an archipelago, after all.

V. VARENOV

Capablanca in Moscow...

A Soviet-Cuban coproduction

A short time ago the Riga railway station in Moscow looked somewhat odd: the columns supporting the roof over the platform were dressed in pine branches bound with red ribbons. The ladies wearing laced shoes, longish skirts, jackets and hats were decades behind fashions and styles. The porters were busy helping the passengers with their luggage and the cleaners in long grey linen aprons were leisurely exchanging remarks. The scene recreated the atmosphere at a railway station in Moscow in mid-1920s.

The station master's office was taken over by director Manuel Herrera, who was giving the orders. When the make-up man put the finishing touches on Cesar Evora, he looked just like the great chess player José Raul Capablanca, the main character of the new Soviet-Cuban film.

Though physical likeness is extremely important for the success of a film about such a famous historical personality, in this case it does not play a key role. The chief aim of the actor, who is well known both to Soviet and Cuban audiences from "Habanera" and "Amada," will be to give a faithful psychological portrayal through his physical likeness.

The script has been produced by the young poet Eliseo Alberto Diego, the Soviet playwright Dal Orlov and the director Manuel Herrera. The authors are very different people both with respect to their life experiences and professional concepts. What has brought them together was their desire to recreate the image of José Capablanca, world chess champion and an outstanding personality who left many followers, friends and admirers.

The beginning of the film is set in Cuba, though the main action takes place in Moscow where the great chess player arrived in November 1925. He was the first Cuban to be invited to the U.S.S.R. and to accept the invitation.

In those days the young workers' and peasants' state was just beginning to break through the cultural blockade the imperialist powers had enforced. The letter inviting José Capablanca to take part in the international chess tournament to be held in Moscow was signed by Nikolai Krylenko, an eminent Soviet statesman. The letter was received on August 21, 1925, five days after the Communist Party of Cuba was formed, with a fierce anti-Soviet campaign underway. Defying the opposition of the government (Capablanca was serving at the foreign ministry), the grand master quickly confirmed his acceptance.

Just like the other distinguished players who arrived after him to take part in the tournament Capablanca was struck by the popularity of the chess movement in Soviet Russia. The ancient game was regarded as an important instrument in the people's cultural education. If the government of Russia continued to pay such attention to chess, the guest from Cuba said, prominent champions would soon appear in the country. And his prophecy proved true.

"José Raul Capablanca is a legend, though an unusual one," the playwright Dal Orlov remarked. "Those who played chess with him are still alive and remember him vividly. I have been lucky to participate in writing the script for a film about the Cuban chess genius. Though Capablanca's profound chess ideas are beyond me I, as a dramatist, found him to be a most exciting personality. Nobility was his salient feature. That is why he left such a vivid unforgettable memory of himself."

The three coauthors had a hard time working on the script. They argued continuously before they arrived at what they thought was an optimal solution, one which would satisfy all the three of them. The initial idea determined the genre and style of the future motion picture.

"This will be a feature film not only about what really happened, but also about what could have happened," Eliseo Alberto Diego said. "Cuban and Soviet biographers of Capablanca have rendered us invaluable assistance in recreating some of the actual events. Naturally, we have had to use our imagination to show what could have happened. Thus, once documents and fancy have been organically combined they become indissoluble."

It would be impossible to recreate the style of a historical period truthfully without harmoniously combining documented events with artistic fiction. A lot, of course, depends on the cameraman. Expressing his opinion of him, Manuel Herrera said: "A man with a high sense of responsibility. It is a pleasure to work with him."

Shooting a sequence.

Photo by N. Gnisyuk

Igor Klebanov, the cameraman, has already been to Cuba before. He shot episodes for the film "TASS Agency Has Been Authorized to State." Once, during a break in his work, he went for a stroll in Havana and wandered into a cemetery where he came across Capablanca's grave. Could it have occurred to him then that two years later he would be shooting a film about this legendary personality?

"We have already shot a part of the film, although we have had some ill luck with the weather," Klebanov said. "Early spring in Moscow would have well matched Cuban location. But this year it was too warm in April and the snow melted very quickly. I am sure that every cameraman finds it exciting to work on historical material. Everything is different from what we see now: the surroundings, costumes, interior decoration, styles, pace, the very atmosphere. The director and I are working concertedly. We have found a common language and have even learnt to do without an interpreter."

The language barrier makes itself felt in any coproduction. Galina Belyayeva has had some previous experience in working with foreign actors. For instance, in "Anna Pavlova," a Soviet-British coproduction. Despite this, it is difficult to work in front of a camera with a partner who does not understand your language. However, the actress says, the situation offers some advantages. It compels you to watch your partner more closely, the expression of his eyes and face, and also his gestures. This helps you understand him better.

"Cesar Evora is a subtle actor who is endowed with keen feeling," Galina Belyayeva pointed out. "It is easy to work with him."

The other actors in the film are Marina Yakovleva, Boris Nevzorov, Javier Avila, Adolfo Llaurado and Eslinda Nuñez.... "Your people seem to remember me in another film, 'The Headless Horseman.' They would recognize me in the streets, say some kind words to me and express their good wishes," Eslinda observed.

The team has several months of hard work ahead before the experienced Nelson Rodriguez starts arranging the film. We would like to conclude our article with the following words by Manuel Herrera:

"What we are after is universality notwithstanding the difference in national character. Our film is meant not only for the chess fans, but also for the broad audience. We hope that our joint work will promote cooperation between our film industries in the future too. As far as the film is concerned, I don't like to talk about the work that has not been completed, though I am an optimist by nature."

I. BYKOVA

JOURNEY INTO THE 21st CENTURY

We continue our journey into the future. In our issue No. 28, public figures, writers and scientists describe their vision of the 21st century if man leaves behind the burden of nuclear weapons. A detailed plan for nuclear disarmament was outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev in his January 15 statement.

Our guest today is Yeremei Parnov, a Soviet sci-fi writer and vice-president of the International Science Fiction Association of Professionals. He invites readers to join him in a journey through time....

The Assignment of My Life

YEREMEI PARNOV

I have travelled a good deal in my life—and loved it all the way. I have seen all the continents, admired the sparkling snow-capped peak of Mt Everest and lived on tiny atolls lost in the boundless expanses of the Indian and Pacific oceans. Sometimes I wonder if I really did once cross the great deserts of Asia by camel, edge forward over a bottomless precipice astride a stubborn Tibetan yak and ride through the jungle on an Indian elephant. And now, at the start of the third millennium, I have the happy chance of a glimpse of what is beyond man's cradle, the Earth: as special correspondent for a national daily, I am to cover the formal burial of the last plutonium fuse of the last thermonuclear warhead. It will not be a burial in the full sense of the word: the automatic machinery servicing the power plant on the lunar base, with the U.N. emblem atop its quartz dome, will merely introduce plutonium into the active zone of the plasma reactor.

The new millennium has brought about a new style, simple, rational and, perhaps, too technological. Yet there is some symbolism in that the ceremony is to take place on the Moon, free of weapons, and made, like the Antarctic, a scientists' paradise.

In our day of worldwide communications, when it takes just a few seconds to connect up with the information system of any habitation zone and make a trip round the world without leaving your armchair, it is not at all easy to get an assignment: first you yourself get out of the habit of travelling, and then your superiors get out of the habit of sending you on your travels, and you will never convince them that a colour three-dimensional complete with sounds and smells is not enough. Well, it is not for me to complain: eventually even our accounting computer agreed that no marvels of long-range communication can for the writer replace personal contact with fellow earthlings travelling farther and farther away from home. And then, of course, there is the event, the long-awaited, fateful, crucial, truly epoch-making event, which I am to witness. It is the most important assignment of my life.

People all over the world have been following events avidly month after month and day after day as deadly fissionable materials were loaded into the reaction zone. The world exhibition mounted to mark the occasion showed everything we have achieved as a result of renouncing nuclear suicide. Three-dimensional screens show panoramas of space and underwater stations. There are pictures of moon oases and the wild jungle replanted in the Amazonian plains, the majestic taiga grown anew in Siberia

and the young woods of Hindustan, once totally deforested. There are exhibits of efforts to cleanse the overpolluted World Ocean. Another major undertaking is the improvement of the atmosphere. If the ozone layer, screening out space radiation, is not restored within the next few years, we are in for hard times. Acid rains and high carbonic acid levels will pale in the face of the disasters caused by lack of ozone. But that's life: problems are resolved only to be replaced by new ones. Yet to judge from the exhibition, our generation has passed the worst trials with flying colours.

A special attraction at the fair was the Marine Olympics in which trained dolphins competed. But as far as competitions go, my favourite was the genetic engineering contest. My fancy was caught by a salamander developed by an 18-year-old Nepalese student. The six-legged creature looked charming as it danced in the flames of the hydrogen torch and it was only the glaring impracticality of the thing that stood between its creator and first prize. Caterpillars that can cleanse the sea coast of garbage are more utilitarian, of course, and therefore more deserving of awards—if you overlook the aesthetic aspect.

As I watched bio- and thermopower stations flickering on the screen, farms growing beef cellulose and plantations gladdening the eye with lush greenery, I suddenly remembered the Zoo of my childhood. A small site squeezed in amidst buildings and crowded with cages with sad beasts in them, it nevertheless gave me enormous joy, that world from the past at the crossing of tram lines. Now that wild Nature is man's equal in the right to live, there are no Zoos in our cities. This is only fair—yet they have taken away with them something from our souls which I cannot easily name...

I have not yet read the paper. I punch in the five-digit code and scan the pages, now and then stopping a frame with familiar names in it. No time now to read, so I touch the sensor button and stuff a freshly-printed copy into my case, which already holds everything I may need for my journey. Another jolt—I have nearly left behind cassettes with the university unified field theory course on them. If you write science fiction, you have to keep up with the progress of science, at least at an average level—and my laziness has got the better of me in the past few years. The years, too, are taking their toll, despite the boom of junology, the science which has given us far longer active lives. So now I am pinning my hopes on subcortex stimulation according to the technique of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the New Delhi Naturopathy Centre. Should I try to take a course of stimulation on the journey, during the artificial lunar nights, synchronized with nights in Moscow and therefore corresponding to my biorhythms?

As I absent-mindedly wander about the flat, looking to see if there is anything else I need to take along, my utility robot, buzzing soothingly, keeps dogging my tracks, collecting misplaced things in my wake and switching off electrical appliances I do not need at the moment. A piercing siren sends me flying towards the robot: were it not for the monitoring alarm, my Space Fleet ticket would have disappeared into the innards of the machine. I kick it disgustedly and tear out of its maw a freshly laundered handkerchief.

At last I am in the street. Squinting against the snowflakes driven into my face by the wind, I run down the staircase into a tunnel and step onto the moving track of the transporter, crawling at 10 km per hour to the nearest car park—it is not far so there is no need to move onto a faster track.

At the park I get into a tear-shaped car and shove my personal diamagnetic plastic card into the slot of the analyzer. The panel flashes green, I call out my destination and sit back as the master computer takes over. Manual control is off within city limits and it is only on the highway, with speeds reaching 300 kmphr in the left lane, that the accelerator and steering wheel can be activated. The two-way communication with the master computer remains, however, so that the machine can take over in an emergency. I personally never touch the steering wheel.

My "running around" the city over, I at last enter the consulting room of my old friend the physician. At the last moment I plead with the operator to put on the suggestionization cassette with a Tibetan lesson I have brought along but he shakes his head—the subconscious must be free. Then I fall asleep and do not feel them fastening pickups all over my body for the full diagnosis.

"We have radioed our OK to Kamchatka spaceport," I hear half an hour later. My doctor looks at me condescendingly, his strong surgeon's fingers drumming on the table. "Yet I don't fancy your vessels. You need to have them cleaned, my friend. And then, it's time you had some therapy every now and then if you want to live into middle age."

"Is it worth the trouble?" I zip up my vest and put on my telecom bracelet. "Stuffing myself to the gills with pills to drag on to ninety-one? Thanks, but no thanks! Give me eighty—but I'll live it up!"

"Just don't miss your chance: they may stumble upon the secret of immortality a year after your death," the doctor smiled sadly.

"Don't worry, old boy," I retort as I open the door to go out. "Immortality in literature presupposes biological death—and since I don't expect ever to get into the literary hall of fame, I shall live with a sense of immortality in my soul to my dying day."

I have lived in a difficult and amazing age, tragic, awesome and glorious. I have witnessed dreams of science fiction come true and daring forecasts become reality. But I have been granted even more than that—the bittersweet joy of saying goodbye to the illusions and daydreams that have been the opiate of the human race since time began.

Just like the lure of the perpetuum mobile, the dream of individual immortality has been consigned to oblivion. Elusive time gave the slip to the clever traps set for it: it proved not so difficult to duplicate any person physically—but his or her unique memory and experience, imprinted on the wisdom of evolution, cannot be reproduced. But what is most important is that the human race is now immortal, and the last plutonium fuse disintegrated tomorrow will seal it forever.

• • •

You may say that there is an unbridgeable gulf between my hope and reality: the next millennium is less than fifteen years away. But the starting point for my story justifies it: I have assumed that the programme for the elimination of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, formulated in the Soviet statement of January 15, 1986, has been unconditionally embraced by the nations. The age of fundamentally new political thinking has arrived. Mankind has found in itself enough wisdom and strength to reverse the senseless arms race. The test sites in Nevada are silent. National seismic stations, integrated into a worldwide verification system, and the international inspection service, given sweeping powers under a general accord, effectively guard the epoch-making treaty against any accident. The spirit of understanding and respect for each other's worries and concerns reigns supreme. Cooperation is making great strides in every field of culture, education and science. And then—who knows?—future reality may prove to be aeons ahead of the boldest imaginings of a science fiction writer.

TAKING UP A POINT

Where is your opposition! Are things going so smoothly in your country that there is no need to criticize your statesmen and politicians!

Jose Raul ARGUEDEZ
Gijon, Spain

Historian VSEVOLOD DUMNY replies:

To begin with, let us make it clear what the term "opposition" means. It is commonly understood as a challenge from those holding certain views and advocating a certain policy to the adherents of different views and a different policy. A parliamentary opposition, for instance, comprises a group of MPs who take no part in the formation of the cabinet and who as a rule oppose its policies. Examples of this are found in France, Britain, Italy and the F.R.G., where the government and the parties represented in it confront the parties of the opposition. The press that supports the parties in office contends with that which supports the opposition, and so on. It should be borne in mind, however, that in the capitalist world the degree of freedom of action allowed to the opposition depends on the political regime obtaining in this or that country. Under a military-fascist dictatorship (in Chile, for instance) any political opposition is suppressed. Even in bourgeois democracies, however, not all the opposition forces enjoy equal opportunities: Communists and their sympathizers, for instance, are often discriminated against.

Why is there opposition in the West? Because in the capitalist countries social unity is inconceivable. Various sections of the population—the working class, the capitalist class (stratified as it is) and the heterogeneous middle strata—pursue economic and social objectives which have little, if anything, in common. In other words, political opposition comes from social and class contradictions in capitalist society.

And now let us look at the Soviet political scene. As you probably know, the last vestiges of the exploiting classes—the urban and rural bourgeoisie—ceased to exist in our country over fifty years ago. Today Soviet society is composed of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. Social homogeneity or proximity presuppose common objectives and interests: in the international arena, lasting peace, and at home, the continued progress of socialism for the sake of a steady rise in the welfare and cultural levels of the nation.

The U.S.S.R. has a one-party system which has evolved historically. In the early postrevolutionary years all the parties except the Communist Party disappeared from the political scene, having lost popular support. The CPSU, with its membership of 19 million, is the party of the entire people, its policy expressing nationwide interests and aspirations.

Naturally, the bodies of state authority and administration are not made up of Communists alone. Among the deputies to the Soviet parliament elected in 1984 are 1,072 members and candidate members of the CPSU and 428 non-party people (71.5 and 28.5 per cent respectively). The local Soviets elected in 1985 are composed of 987.483 party members and candidate members and 1,317,220 non-party people (42.8 and 57.2 per cent). We have no political opposition because our society has no social groups requiring the expression of, and support for, their special interests as opposed to those of the working people.

Now let us proceed to the second part of your question. I must admit that, to our considerable regret, things do not always go all too smoothly in our country.

Socialism is by no means a society in which all goes well. We have recently embarked on a programme of restructuring. Consider how the situation is assessed by the CPSU Central Committee (I suggest you note even the style and tone of the document).

The resolution "On the Results of Comrade Gorbachev's Trip to the Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories" says, in part: "Although our society as a whole is set on changes, the process of restructuring involves complex problems; it is contradictory and uneven, encounters various socio-psychological and organizational barriers, and meets with resistance on the part of those who try, from selfish motives, to retain outdated methods and privileges. Restructuring is hindered by bureaucratic abuses in the government machinery, poor discipline and irresponsibility."

We honestly concede, for all to hear, that our progress along the socialist path could have been more impressive had more rational and fuller use been made of the advantages offered by our political system. The CPSU's strategy today aims, therefore, at making the most of these advantages through the acceleration of socio-economic progress. If this strategy is to attain its objectives, we must put an end to negative phenomena and shortcomings in the economic, social and other spheres, and this is possible only when every encouragement is given to criticism and self-criticism—a vital principle of party and state functioning under socialism. However, criticism as such is certainly not an end in itself; a critic is supposed to suggest ways of eliminating the shortcomings he exposes.

Responsibility for mistakes is borne by those who made them—be they party or government officials or economic executives. The CPSU believes that no organization, institution or individual is, or should be, immune to criticism. At sessions of Soviets, standing commissions and groups of deputies, at meetings of work collectives, and in letters from working people sharp criticism is levelled against ministers and top executives in various national, republican and local administrative bodies. This criticism is made public by the press, radio and television. Such is our opposition to everything we find intolerable, or alien to our society.

■

Long Long Jump

about European long jump record-holder Robert Emmiyan

Placing first at the Peoples' Games of the U.S.S.R. Robert Emmiyan ended the season with flying colours. In Tashkent, where late last month Soviet track-and-field athletes competed, he jumped 8.37 metres, which a year earlier would have been but one centimetre less than the national high. However now friends said that though his result was pretty good he, Robert Emmiyan, could have done better.

Still that is a modicum of praise, as at short order Robert has accustomed track-and-field fans to long long jumps. Last February the blue-eyed Armenian youth recorded 8.34 metres at the national winter championships in Moscow, topping celebrated Igor Ter-Ovanesyan's 20-year-old European indoor high by 11 centimetres at once. That same month he scored at the European winter championships in Madrid with 8.32 m. At the time Ter-Ovanesyan, who competed in five Olympic Games and is now head coach of the Soviet national track-and-field team, said: "You can take it from me that next summer we'll see him going 8.5 or 8.6 m."

This prediction was borne out at the Goodwill Games in Moscow last July. Robert was happy, both with his new European record of 8.61 m and his first win against the celebrated American jumper Larry Myricks. Note that in this track-and-field event American athletes have long held the lead. Robert's subsequent achievement at the European summer championships in Stuttgart now seemed a usual thing despite the cold and rain. At any rate, his 8.41 m result on his second attempt left all other competitors no hope.

Robert never tends to overestimate his powers. After his splendid Goodwill Games performance he was asked whether Soviet jumpers would soon claim the world record, Robert honestly replied that he believed it premature to think about that. "I've got a lot of training to do especially as regards speed, in which the Americans are up in front." (For the layman may I add that black U.S. athlete Robert Beamon has held the fabulous world high of 8.9 m ever since the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City.)

Having turned but 21 on February 15 last, the U.S.S.R.'s and Europe's top long jumper is barely out of the junior group. Robert was born and grew up in Leninakan, an Armenian city celebrated with sport fans the world over for its boxers and still more so for its weightlifters, among whom we must necessarily mention former world champion Vartan Militosyan and surely Yuri Vardanyan, "weight lifter of the century." At any rate, when many boys of his age voted for weight lifting—quite understandable with such idols to admire—ten-year-old Robert chose track and field on the advice of his school PT instructor Khoren Ovivyan who had spotted his talent and industry.

Emmiyan, who continues to reside in Leninakan, where he has just graduated from a teacher-training college, is from a sport-loving family. His elder brother Tigran, sister Malvina and father Zhirair, when younger, have gone in for various sports, while his mother Azatui played for the Leninakan basketball team in her girlhood. The family decided to ask well-known Leninakan coach Mkrtych Karapetyan to take Robert under his wing at the city sports youth school. Karapetyan has been coaching him for 11 years now.

Robert was included in the republican team while still in the junior group. His forthrightness, his kind, sensitive heart, and the profound respect he entertains for his elders won over the senior members of the team, who all note the way he has of mustering all his powers in critical situations.

"At training sessions he works himself up into a lather," Mkrtych Karapetyan says of his pupil. "He adores the small fry, who always cluster around him, showing them all the fine points and, indeed, treating them as equals. He'll certainly make a fine coach in the future."

Robert himself says that for him jumping comes as natural as breathing. "Training sessions, let alone competitions, are a real joy," he explains, "and when I feel, still in the air, that the going's good, the heart thrills."

Alexei SREBNITSKY

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Beauty and Peace

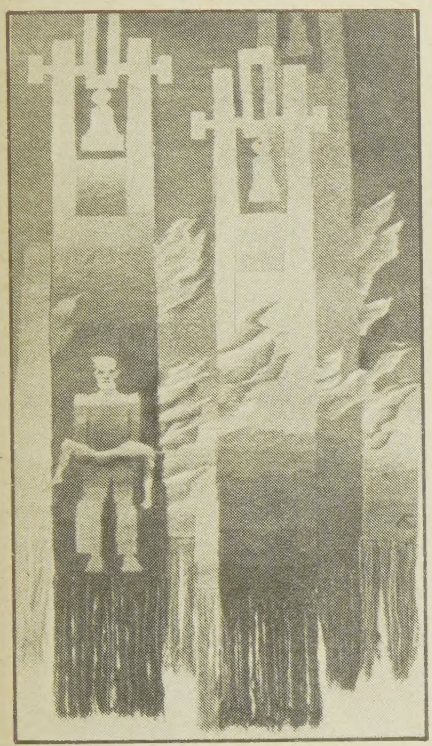
Artists for Peace is the motto of the art show now on view at Moscow's Central Exposition Hall.

Held as part of the U.N. International Year of Peace, the exhibition includes the work of artists belonging to all the Soviet art unions. The most diverse art forms are represented there: paintings and sculptures, engravings, embroidery and industrial design.

Peace is the leitmotif of many works—portraits and landscapes, space fantasies and scenes of everyday life.

But there are also reminders of the tragedy of Hiroshima, the Khatyn massacre and the ordeals of Vietnam—a reminder, a protest, and a warning.

But perhaps the best exhibit is still to come? From this toddler crayoning, right on the floor, a picture of the world as he sees it?



● L. Sayenko (Kiev)—Safeguard peace.

A new exhibit.

● Y. Korolyov (Moscow)—Space brothers. ● Y. Arrak (Tallinn)—The Vietnam tragedy. ● A. Dudarenko (Minsk)—Byelorussian partisans.

Photos by V. Panov

From the series
"Children of the Poor."

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Drawing by
Pittore Carlo
PARISI
(Italy)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ